

JPRS 77506

4 March 1981

... FBIS 40TH YEAR 1941-81 ...

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1853

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

P. O. Box 2604

Washington, D. C. 20013

26 February 1981

NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR, FBIS:

Forty years ago, the U.S. Government inaugurated a new service to monitor foreign public broadcasts. A few years later a similar group was established to exploit the foreign press. From the merger of these organizations evolved the present-day FBIS. Our constant goal throughout has been to provide our readers with rapid, accurate, and comprehensive reporting from the public media worldwide.

On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

4 March 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1853

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Arrest of UK Envoy Second Such Incident (David Adamson; THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, 13 Feb 81)	1
Prague Daily Says MBFR Talks Not Futile (ZEMEDELKE NOVINY, 4 Feb 81)	2
Modern Drama Trends Criticized (Editorial Report)	4
Briefs Greek Vacations for Trade Union Members	6

HUNGARY

Journalist Analyzes Concept of Human Rights (Jeno Szanto; NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Dec 80)	7
Minister of Culture Interviewed on Aims of Education (Imre Pozsgay Interview; KOZNEVELES, 19 Dec 80)	12

POLAND

PZPR Seventh Plenum Resolution on Establishing CC Issues Commissions (ZYCIE PARTII, No 12, 1980)	21
--	----

ROMANIA

Interview With Medical Scientist, Recipient of French Award (G. Marinescu-Dinizvor Interview; FLACARA, 15, 22 Jan 81) .	24
Rabbi Recalls Pogroms, Anti-Semitism of Fascist Era (Editorial Report)	36

YUGOSLAVIA

Outgoing Youth Federation President Interviewed (Vasil Tupurkovski Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 4 Jan 81)	38
Suvar Discusses Nationality Question in Croatia (Stipe Suvar; NASE TEME, Nov 80)	43
Nativity Scene in Catholic Church Termed 'Provocation' (Z. Tarle; BORBA, 24 Jan 81)	49

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARREST OF UK ENVOY SECOND SUCH INCIDENT

LD131427 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 13 Feb 81 p 4

[Report by David Adamson: "Czech Eyes on Western Diplomats"]

[Text] The detention of the British and Canadian air attaches by Czech police last week was the second incident of its kind this year involving Western diplomats, it was disclosed yesterday.

The French defence attache in Prague was stopped and detained in northern Bohemia for 24 hours on 28 January. Both incidents were part of a pattern which Western sources said was becoming increasingly pronounced.

Sensitive to their strategic position next to a deeply troubled Poland, the Czechs had been keeping close surveillance over Western military attaches and other envoys and subjecting them to harassment.

The cars driven by Wing Commander Oliver Knight, the British air attache, and the French attache were clearly marked with CO plates. Moreover, there is no restriction in Czechoslovakia on trips through the country by defence attaches, who are protected by convention from arrest or detention.

Despite this the Czech police smashed open the door of Wing Commander Knight's car and sprayed the occupants with teargas to force them to get out. As reported in THE DAILY TELEGRAPH yesterday they were detained for 8 hours. There appeared to have been an attempt to stop the car by forcing it into the side of the road. The Czechs claimed that it had been involved in an accident in which a police car was damaged.

The Czechs are understood to have summarily dismissed a strong British protest but they have not so far delivered any formal reply. There was no enlightenment in London yesterday on what led to the stopping of the British attache's car on a main road near Tabor, 70 miles south of Prague.

CSO: 2020

PRAGUE DAILY SAYS MBFR TALKS NOT FUTILE

AU050937 Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 4 Feb 81 p 2

["(KB)"]-signed article: "Vienna Continues to Be Topical"]

[Text] Last Thursday the Vienna negotiations on reducing the strength of armed forces and armaments in central Europe entered their 23d round. The negotiations, attended by delegations of 19 Warsaw Pact and NATO states, have been going on, with interruptions, since 30 October 1973.

On the basis of the duration of these talks, in view of the fact that no specific results have been achieved in Vienna during these 7 and a half years, and particularly in view of the fact that the current Madrid meeting of the signatories of the final act of Helsinki is discussing the convening of a disarmament conference on an all-European scale, it could seem that the Vienna negotiations are futile and useless. This, however, would not only be an erroneous impression, but also and undoubtedly a most incorrect opinion.

Surely even at the moment when the decision fell to hold the Vienna negotiations, when the delegates met for the first time, there was already no doubt then that the talks would be complicated, demanding and of long duration--as only negotiations on delicate military matters can be. Likewise the fact that the international atmosphere has substantially deteriorated since the delegations met for the first time in Vienna as well as the fact that, under pressure from one of the direct participants in the negotiations, the NATO Council adopted an armament program toward the end of 1979 contradicting the spirit of both the Vienna talks and of peace and security in Europe in general confirmed that we have neither a simple, nor short-term matter here.

Even though no specific results have been achieved so far in Vienna in view of constant Western obstructions, the decisive and supremely positive fact is that the negotiations on reducing the strength of armed forces and armaments in central Europe still continue, and that they also have been, and are being, held in a deteriorated political atmosphere.

If we add to this the fact that last year the socialist countries flexibly submitted in Vienna two further extensive compromise proposals which, together with all their previous initiatives, represent a platform for a rapprochement of standpoints, and thus also a prerequisite for work on the first agreement, then

the significance of the Vienna talks becomes even more emphatic. And this significance will be even more enhanced if the constructive course taken by the Warsaw Pact states meets as constructive a reply from the NATO pact participants.

In addition, the best explanation to the fact that discussions are now underway in Madrid on the all-European disarmament conference, and thus also to the opinion that the Vienna talks are becoming "redundant" was supplied by the Polish delegate when the 23d round was opened. At the 259th plenary session of the Vienna negotiations he declared that Poland's enterprising proposal to convene an all-European disarmament conference (which is one of the proposals now being discussed in Madrid) on no account diminishes the significance of other disarmament talks; and this also applies to the Vienna negotiations. "The urgency of military detente on our continent should only serve to enhance the efforts of the participants, so that the many years of discussions in Vienna would at last lead to the signing of the first agreement. An immediate agreement which we could reach in our negotiations, and which could self-evidently not compete in any way with the proposed conference on military detente and disarmament, would nevertheless become an impulse and example for all those who are striving for European disarmament," T. Strulak clearly said.

The Vienna talks, the negotiations concerning areas with the largest concentration of armed forces in Europe, thus continue to remain a supremely necessary and topical affair.

CSO: 2020

MODERN DRAMA TRENDS CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 February 1981 on page 5 carries a 2,300-word article by Rudolf Mrlian, entitled "On the Need For, Demands On and Obligations of Art; Thoughts About Contemporary Dramatic Arts." The article analyzes modern drama in Slovakia, focusing on four aspects constituting--in the author's view--its problematical areas.

The first problem detected by Mrlian is that "a considerable part of the dramatic works is little imbued with the materialist world outlook, communist ideas concerning social processes, a socialist attitude and an ethical approach toward solving problems and shaping the contemporary and future person." Especially "that part of contemporary works of art which shun communist partisanship [stranickost] as though it were a burden in the creative process, an impediment or an obstacle "must give rise to 'dissatisfaction' and 'concern'," in the author's view.

Another fault found by Mrlian with contemporary dramatic art is the "generally felt mediocrity that has firmly settled in with a very dangerous persistency." The reasons for this "mediocrity" are varied, according to Mrlian: "Sometimes it is an unfounded restraint, sometimes deliberate caution, but mostly it is a lack of inner dedication and activity, which form the basis of artistic creativity." An even "more dangerous phenomenon," however, is when "individuals are being promoted who cannot cope with the exacting tasks, and are entrusted with or are usurping tasks for which they lack the necessary abilities." On the other hand, Mrlian voices the assumption that "we insufficiently encourage, do not create optimal conditions for and do not promote artists who embody in integral unity socialist commitment and remarkable creative abilities."

The third issue discussed by the article is the problem of the young generation of artists. The author detects among them "a vagueness of concept and in many instances even the shaping of an abstract notion of socialist art." Mrlian concedes that the young artists' creativity is "developing on an adequate level," but adds that "it is a different question, however, which direction it is taking and what it is aiming at." In the author's view, young artists should have the right to "see the world in their own characteristic way," but he makes it contingent upon this view being "in harmony with the socialist development of thinking."

The fourth aspect of contemporary dramatic art discussed by Mrlian's article is the sphere of theory and criticism. Having stated that the situation has improved in the last few years, Mrlian notes that, nevertheless, "it is necessary to ponder the sources of the views of some of the younger critics who are enthused

by methods that became stale long ago." The author mentions in that context the revival, "to a certain extent," of "empty aestheticism," the application of which in the sixties "invariably led to the crisis of criteria and standpoints in our art theory." Mrlian views this revival as "a consequence of insufficient and, in some cases, almost nonexistent analysis of the activity of the exponents of such incorrect views." He therefore calls for "more frequent publication of polemical articles" to prevent readers from perceiving such "incorrect views" as "definite, unchangable and naturally correct."

To illustrate that critics' judgments are sometimes "at variance with the work of art itself or with principles of Marxist aesthetics," Mrlian cites an unspecified review of Slovak playwright Jan Solovic's latest play that ignored one of the protagonists--a "leading party secretary"--even though, in Mrlian's view, this figure represented the play's "fundamental meaning."

In the concluding part of his article, Mrlian deals with the "extremely alarming situation concerning the periodical SCENA." He says it is "outright incredible" that SCENA "could develop in the direction we have witnessed recently." According to the author, "no effective steps have been taken to implement the resolution of the founding congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Dramatic Artists that SCENA become a periodical operating on a nationwide basis." This has led "after initial ideological shortcomings" to "an isolation of the Czech and the Slovak cultures that is, indeed, highly alarming." Mrlian stresses that "it is not at all decisive who publishes the periodical, what matters is how it is fulfilling the principles of our party's policy, and how it is taking part in shaping social awareness." "It would be desirable," the author of the article says in conclusion, "for the bodies in charge of that periodical to ponder their activity and to operatively draw positive conclusions from it."

CSO: 2020

BRIEFS

GREEK VACATIONS FOR TRADE UNION MEMBERS--This year, the CSSR Central Trade Union Council (URO) will send trade union members for a vacation in Greece, "thanks to the full understanding of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and in view of the results achieved in economic developments." Selected will be a specific number of miners, metallurgical industry workers, chemical industry workers and construction workers. The number of vacationers will be increased subject to production increase and work efficiency. The negotiations and signing of the travel agreement were attended in Prague on 9 February 1981 by URO Secretary V. Marik; Director of ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) Central Administration for Recreation J. Dolezal; Director of Tourism of the Greek travel agency KAL Georgios Koutomanis and KAL Economic Director Pangios Lagaris. [Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 10 Feb 81 p 4]

CSO: 2400

JOURNALIST ANALYZES CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 80 p 3

[Article by journalist Jenő Szántó: "Human Rights"]

[Text] There are at least two reasons that make it timely for us to write once more about the subject matter mentioned in the title. The first one is an anniversary. It is 32 years today that the plenary session of the United Nations approved the Universal Proclamation of Human Rights, which--similarly to the other socialist states--was also accepted and enacted into law by the Hungarian People's Republic. The second reason for this timeliness is the noisy campaign being waged by the bourgeois propaganda for the cause and under the pretext of human rights. To be sure this has been going on since 1917, and is aimed against the ideology and practices of socialism, at times with increased intensity; and more recently since Carter's rise to power, and then at the start of the Madrid Conference.

It is 1948. The world had hardly shaken off the effects of the 6 years of war, the wounds were still open; the ruins were piled on top of another, and the mourning had hardly subsided. It was in this atmosphere and in the midst of these conditions that the UN saw fit to prepare an ideological-political flag for the anti-fascist forces in the form of a single comprehensive document, and thus aid the process of purification from the fascist poison, while at the same time erecting a barrier to the violation of rights that might lead to a new world conflagration. As asserted by the preamble of the Proclamation with reference to the UN Charter, this was done with the intent of "encouraging social progress and the development of a higher living standard along with a greater degree of freedom."

As if even the most sublime proclamations would be suitable to achieve such goals!

[Debates With Political Motivations]

Our political adversaries, however, are not using human rights for the purposes of advancing social progress and achieving a higher standard of living with greater freedom. On the contrary, their vanguards are referring to these rights only within the context of a slander campaign against the Soviet Union and the socialist states.

What is the reason that our opponents' torrent of words are not being answered in kind through the escalation of charges? After all, nothing would be easier than to point our fingers at our accusers, at the warmongers of Vietnam, as the defenders of such oppressive dictators as Pinochet, the Shah of Iran, Pak Chong Hi, Somoza and others, as those who are paying their mercenaries on the basis of the number of severed ears and scooped-out eyes, etc. And we could tell the world: Here, these are the ones who are trying to teach us human rights. And yet, we have still refused to put an offensive of human rights propaganda into the forefront. Why?

First, because we want to avoid the possibility that such mutual recriminations should further deteriorate a rather tense situation, and thus distract attention from trying to solve such acute questions as the preservation of detente, and disarmament. Secondly, because it is up to the citizens of each country to enact a just constitutional system and to carry through its implementation. Thirdly, because--and in principle this may be the most important reason--there is nothing more futile than to debate about rights in the abstract. There never were, there are not now, nor will there ever be uniformly effective rights which can exist everywhere independent from time, space and social order. Laws are made by human beings, and the Marxists know that a right which is part of the superstructure of a particular society always expresses the socio-economic order, the class structure and the traditions of that society.

If this were not true, if there were a legal code applicable always and everywhere, then one could immediately disband all of the parliaments of all the countries of the world, and one could cease all of the legislative activities of all authorities. But life doesn't stand still. New conditions require and inspire the promulgation of new laws.

But our debate with those who are demanding from us the observation of human rights is not concerned with legal philosophy or with the meaning of words. This is a political opposition which does not stem from the divergent interpretation of a word or of a conception. They are talking about human rights as if these were abstract concepts. They are mystifying and are searching for rights which only they have, or which even they have only on paper or in their minds. This is why it makes no sense to talk about rights in the abstract.

[The Lessons of History]

Let us take a look at history.

The cannibal regarded, and still regards it as his natural human right to eat his conquered foe. On that level of social evolution, no one will be shocked by it either from a legal or a moral point of view. The human rights conception of the slave society was also such as it was. Who could have questioned Nero's right to turn his thumb down if he so desired, and thus decided the fate of the struggling slave gladiator? And if the slave decided to question it, and he rebelled, the slave owners had the right to fence the road with crosses and to crucify the rebels upon them. The feudal lord's human right included, among others, the right of patronage, the power over life and death, the merciless collection of

the tithe and even the *ius primae noctis*, the right for the first night; or to be more precise, the right to take the virgin serf girl into his bed before her marriage, should he so desire. As to the legal system developed by capitalist society, which wrote on its flag the lofty slogan: liberty, equality, fraternity? This system differed from country to country, but from the point of social context, it was basically the same. This is described best and most incriminatingly by the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, and by the facts of the century or so that has passed since then.

Some may say: Well, yes. That's true. But there are still certain basic principles. After all, when we are talking about human rights, most of us have a rough idea as to what we mean. As an example, those which are prescribed by the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament. All right, let us begin with them (although we should also mention that the larger part of humanity does not follow a religion that accepts the Old Testament). Here then is perhaps the most important: "Thou shalt not kill." This seems unambiguous. But is it really? Then what about the "rights" of the above-mentioned cannibal? What about those of the crucifying slave owner? And what about today's law of war, which is nothing else than a summation of why, when and how can one legally kill others? And what about the right of self-defense? Well. Apparently, the rule, "thou shalt not kill" is not so unambiguous after all.

[Permissible, Not Permissible]

Is a "no" really a "no"? The rule "Thou shalt not steal" is surely a universal rule, isn't it? Of course, one doesn't have the right to steal a fellow traveler's purse while on the streetcar in the middle of a crowd. Nor should one take home tools or finished goods from the factory. Nor is one permitted to rob a bank, even though--to quote Brecht--"what is a bank robbery compared to the establishment of a bank?" And it is also forbidden for a farm laborer to steal from the produce of an estate owner. For how do the "beggared cotters with their uneasy dreams" express themselves in one of Ady's memorable poems ("In the Count's Threshing Yard")? "...they know secretly that this sorrowful life and the wheat-ear are theirs." From the vantage point of the landowning class, the distribution of the lands constituted a severe violation of their rights, even though it represented the justice expressed in the saying: "the land belongs to him who cultivates it."

Three years ago I visited an agricultural collective in Alentejo Province in Portugal. It had been founded by "beggared cotters with uneasy dreams" in such a way that they began to cultivate land that had been left fallow for years. The owner was engaged in a losing struggle at one of the African colonies in the process of liberation. The peasants were paying a very high rent: 40 percent of the yield. Only recently did I learn that this collective had been forcibly disbanded and its members turned into homeless beggars. This was done in the name of human rights, that is in the name of the owner's rights.

But let us continue with the Ten Commandments. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife" is also carved upon the stone tablets. This is interesting, but not nearly as much as that which is missing from there; namely, that a woman should

not covet her neighbor's husband. This possibility did not even occur to the lawmakers of 6,000 years ago. In the age of Moses, a woman, because she was born a woman, was not regarded as a full-fledged human being. Six thousand years ago? The larger part of the world still doesn't subscribe to the equality of men and women!

Well, in light of the above, the commandments carved into the two stone tablets are not the norm for everything. Let us cite two quotations. The first of these is by Janos Kadar from his summary of the debate of the 12th Party Congress: "At times I wonder why it takes so long for a resolution to be implemented. I am consoled by the fact that according to the biblical legend Moses received the Ten Commandments many thousands of years ago--perhaps this constituted the first party resolution--and they are still only in the process of being implemented." And now here is the second quotation: "The history of humanity has seen the passing of 4 billion laws; yet, has been unable to improve upon the Ten Commandments." The latter quotation is by Ronald Reagan (published in a book by his secretary).

Let us quote another person, who is perhaps the most competent to judge such matters. Cardinal Lanzio Lekai recently gave an interview to the Catholic journal IL REGNO of Bologna. One of his statements created quite a sensation: "The Marxist system in Hungary," he claimed, "has succeeded in achieving that which the Catholic world has been unable to achieve: social harmony and the cooperation between the social classes." And later: "Health care is free, even for the priests ... Everyone receives a pension in our country ... We, the Church, have failed to implement the Quadragesimo anno, whereas the Marxists have." (The encyclical Quadragesimo anno was issued by Pope Pius XI, and it dealt with social welfare.)

[Only for the Good of the People]

Our system can be justly proud of the fact that it has realized the implementation of human rights on a higher level and wider scope than any other system preceeding it. Our legal system is not without partisanship and not without its limits. However, we admit this. Our constitution proclaims and permits right only in favor and only in the interest of the working people. This is frank talk in an age when the slogan "everyone has rights" in effect means in the capitalist world that--to cite a well-known French example--everyone has the right to either live in a palace or to sleep under a bridge. But somehow it always happens in such a way that the rich are living in palaces, while the poor are sleeping under the bridges.

Notwithstanding all this, however, it would be a mistake not to note or to undervalue those rights that the people of the capitalist countries--primarily the class conscious workers--have won for themselves and are successfully defending. And of course we shouldn't forget that the capitalists cannot exist without workers, but we can do very well without capitalists. Our class and power structure is not the reverse of the former, but completely different, [and is] historically new and forward-looking.

In Hungary, the right to life, [and] the respect for life means that war propaganda is forbidden, and so is the defamation of other nations and agitation

against them. Right to life means the right to work, to study free of charge, to have free health care, and the right to achieve a high quality human existence. And all rights that violate these principles are forbidden. This constitutes our "limitations of rights." We know that with socialist development we must further strengthen and expand our human rights and the practice of these rights. But the path that we have to follow can never go backwards, only forward.

9271

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

MINISTER OF CULTURE INTERVIEWED ON AIMS OF EDUCATION

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 19 Dec 80 p 3-6

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, minister of culture, by Laszlo Toth: "Let Us Have Order in the Requirements, and Order in Their Implementation!"; data and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Dear Comrade Pozsgay, one can learn from your articles and statements your opinion on the basic ideological and practical questions of our cultural life and public education--as manifested by your recently published anthology, "Democracy and Culture". Understandably, however, you talked much less about education, although educators and other professionals in education are interested in your opinion, especially now that you are in charge of the new ministry which also directs state education. For this reason, I thank you for giving me the opportunity for this interview.

My first question is, I think, very obvious: how will the new ministry affect education?

[Answer] I have, indeed, said little about matters of education; I have not been able to say more until now, but regarding public education, I have never failed to emphasize that I consider the school the most important institution of Hungarian public education. According to some people, this is a surprising deduction, for Hungary has a relatively advanced system of public education. They ask whether it is not a more primitive form of school we want to return to when we speak of the school as an institution of public education: a form which was justified when the country's towns and villages did not have community centers and movie theaters and when there were few theaters and other public cultural institutions. This is not the case of course. When I strongly emphasize the role of the school in public education, I am always thinking that the school is the only institution which affects every citizen at a certain age, which is able to transmit knowledge, culture and mankind's experiences, to lay the foundation for erudition, and to create a cultural atmosphere in which people become refined and able to use the institutions of public education.

Now that the new Ministry of Culture has been created, we also have the possibility, of course of encompassing the school, public education, arts management and all Hungarian cultural life into a unified system of organization and management. This system may result in a more efficient use of Hungary's

accumulated knowledge and culture. Regarding schools and other institutions of learning. I would like to state that the new ministry considers its most important task to be to develop these institutions and to operate them smoothly, and to create, in line with the political resolutions accepted so far, better conditions for efficient use of educational capacity, including the potentials of both teachers and students. In short: with the new ministry, we have a state government office for carrying out important tasks in education policy.

[Question] When the ministry was set up, many people began to worry. Public educators were worried that public education would be diluted in the school, and not a few teachers were worried that the school would be pushed into the background, behind public education. What you said shows, however, that although it is true that the school and public education are interdependent, they have their own laws that are not negligible.

[Answer] Laws which force the ministry to pay attention to them. In the initial period of its existence, the ministry was, of course, occupied with establishing its own organization. But even during this time, it paid special attention not to damage the existing areas and branches which were operating successfully. Despite the reorganization that entailed a great deal of confusion, we succeeded in maintaining uninterrupted operation in the school, public education, culture, and in the entire system of educational institutions. It will then be the task of the future and the new ministry to create an adequate balance and interaction between the various educational areas, and to do this in a way that will not make it possible for them to create a freer and more creative action and initiative.

I have also heard about the worries you mentioned. The ministry's directorate also dealt with them. And I had a few opportunities to make the statement that the new ministry will not allow the school and public education, public education and the arts, and the arts and the school to oppose one another. At the congress of the Association of Hungarian Educators, being held in Kecskemet this year, for example, I was able to commit myself to several hundred colleagues that the public education program will continue. And at the opening ceremony of the school year, I had an excellent opportunity to address the entire country through television, radio and the press, and to reveal the new ministry's attitude toward education. I know that my words at these forums are still only promises. Still, I think it was important to tell our intentions to the community which has the task of directing and organizing Hungarian education and educating Hungarian youth.

[Question] Almost half a year has gone by since the beginning of the new ministry's operation. I think I can ask you now, Comrade Pozsgay, what you think the strengths of Hungarian education are, and what the things are which, in your opinion, must be changed now or later.

[Answer] I think it is good, above all--for which our social system should get the credit, of course--namely, that the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian youth is able to go to kindergarten and school, and learn a trade, according to the requirements of their age. In other words, I consider the social results and consequences of the school system as the most essential thing. I think it

is important and good that our school system, progressing toward social justice, is carrying out its tasks in teaching and education, and that, through the co-operation of the educators, intelligent and prepared young people, strong generations come out of the schools.

I think it is a great achievement of Hungarian education--this also belongs, of course, to the social aspect but also includes the virtues of the educators--that we are approaching international standards in compulsory education. This must be recognized even if we are dissatisfied because there are still many people who do not finish primary school.

I think it is good that Hungarian education is in a state of constant renewal. True, there are conservative forces as well, but still, our education has been able to react in the last 30 years to the world's educational progress and to make use of the results for the benefit of both students and educators.

My dissatisfaction is also connected primarily with the social aspect. Not debating the achieved social and educational results mentioned earlier, and not taking back what I said, I see an excessive inequality within the school system. There are too many schools in Hungary with lower requirements related to social movements--for the school must create the possibility for changes in social positions--the school, especially the secondary school, conserves social differences. It also conserves them by not improving the educational chances of children of physical workers and the so-called disadvantaged people, or by not improving them to the extent needed by our society today.

I think it is a problem which is becoming dangerous that Hungarian education has accepted the world's results in the last 20 years in a somewhat rhapsodic manner. Through rhapsodic reform initiatives and a series of abortive attempts, it has deepened educators' feeling that reform, and the development of education, is a personal menace to them, with unjustified requirements, harassment and unpredictability. I am saying all this because, on the basis of our tasks in implementing the 1972 resolution of educational policy, we are driven to introduce even newer reforms. We are facing an urgent task: the program of improving public education. We can prepare this program well only if we consider the lessons of the previous reform initiatives; if we do not forget that reform initiatives are not popular at present among much of society and most educators. For this reason, a dialog must be established, above all, with educators about their own preparedness and their inner need to revitalize their own activity. If they still do not have the willingness and ability to revitalize themselves, then the big question is, how education could help them. In other words, the improvement of public education should be prepared through talking politics and searching for forms of cooperation, jointly with the educators.

[Question] True, this dialog with the educators should begin as soon as possible. But perhaps also with society. We must stop looking at education as a solely professional matter; we must translate the questions of educational policies into the language of social policies.

[Answer] I agree with you 100 percent. I also think that this dialog--following an appropriate professional preparation--must take place in public, for teaching

itself in it in some form and make personal comments; it is better, therefore, if we make these comments with knowledge and the intention of cooperating rather than as a sign of opposition and reservations, and fear of new burdens.

But let me go back to the educators. Their preparedness is significant even from the social aspect. Their moral vattitude toward self-improvement is far from being satisfactory. I would like to be able to formulate this well, without misunderstandings. For this reason, I begin with my reverence for the vocation of education and for those knowledgable persons who take up this vocation. I am convinced that most educators are able, prepared and diligent. But my experiences also show--and I think, many people will agree with this--that there are many educators who do not truly have the vocation and training. This has been one reason why educators have lost some of their prestige. No one should be mislead by the keen competition amongst the applicants to the universities and teacher training programs! I am talking about a loss of prestige for those who are already teaching. And we should not keep quiet about this either, toward ourselves or toward society. The fact that society and politics have put great pressure on education so that it can meet certain demands as soon as possible, has also played a role in this loss of prestige. The pressure on education was too great compared to what it was able to accomplish and this is why there are too many quality concessions and why the lowering of requirements is so frequent.

Of course, if I am talking of the loss of prestige, then I am also bound by honor to mention mistakes in a certain earlier political practice. I am thinking here of the 1950s but even subsequently educators had direct social responsibilities which did not help their prestige with the given communities. I could mention here many examples from the Peace Loan pledges through the actions of collection, all the way to the most various episodes. To return to our starting point: I think, we should begin the dialog with the educators and society about the educational improvement program to nourish sound new ideas.

[Question] Let me ask you after all this how we should deal with the 1972 party resolution on educational policy.

[Answer] First of all, we should consider it a document which contains political directives that are still valid today. It should be considered a program laying political foundations and defining goals whose directives have not yet been implemented in numerous areas. I consider the principles, proposed actions and tasks it contains still valid today. True, its goals and tasks are being implemented slowly and with much red tape, but I do not think we should make up for the lag by hastiness.

The resolution was passed in 1972. More than 8 years have gone by since then, and we have still made no progress in numerous questions. This includes many things, from matters of school organization to the improvement of the school system. But there are several problems which could not be solved, for they were defined as long-term plans. This is why the 1972 party resolution may by all means be considered a basic document, a political platform defining today's tasks as well.

[Question] I would like to emphasize the part of the resolution which deals with youth education. The 1972 party resolution made a most decisive criticism of

the schools for deficiencies in education. Has there been, in your opinion, any progress in youth education--in ideological and political education, in the development of democracy in the school, in education for independent thinking and action--as compared to the situation in 1972?

[Answer] The resolution's criticism of the deficiencies in youth education was justified. The truth of this criticism cannot be doubted, but we must also say that public opinion put too heavy a burden on education with regard to youth education. For we must never forget that society--and, within that, especially the family--takes part as an active educational environment in the forming of youth's character, knowledge and political attitude. I call attention to this without trying to lessen the responsibility of education. The school has, or may have, of course, greater influence on youth than anything else. The overwhelming majority of youths from the age of 6 to 17-18--and most of the time of this majority--is tied down by the school. The school is what gives them living space, moving space, possibility for growth, and tasks.

Of course, the school itself is also a social institution and may not be isolated from the processes taking place in society. Society's existing conditions are always reflected by the school as well, therefore the social influence mentioned exists even if there are conscious educational and instructional goals here.

When we talk about youth education, the schools continue to play the principal role, of course, not relieving the family, the wider social environment and the institutional system--which affects youth through youth organizations, sports movements and the most various opportunities for education--from the responsibility.

Let me tell you that I see the progress in today's youth primarily in its increasing knowledge. More and more educated generations come out of schools, but I do not see any significant improvement in their behavior. This is not simply a school problem.

[Question] Many people trace behavioral problems to the expansion of democracy in the school.

[Answer] Yes, I also have heard such comments. One such source is the mistaken view which equates democracy with liberalism. I consider democracy the most consistent system of requirements, the essence of which is not to give complete freedom to students by indulgent teachers. On the contrary, democracy systematizes common interests and establishes requirements which serve communal interests. I could also say that the main principle of making order within the school could be a democratic strictness, for there is a need for order. And the school is also responsible, among other things, for not being able to maintain order. Order in the requirements and order in their implementation. Requirement, strictness, and action possible to foretell and plan--all of this is included in democracy. There can be no democracy without these.

[Question] You said at the congress of the Educators Union that the democratic education of youth is impossible without faculty democracy. What is your opinion on the work of educators, on the present state of faculty democracy, and on management?

[Answer] Yes, I think school democracy and faculty democracy are inseparable. In fact, faculty democracy is a requisite for school democracy, for the example of the teachers is indispensable. Faculty democracy makes relationships within the faculty open, and faculty abilities and achievements apparent.

Faculty democracy is also important, for the openness it creates will reject any kind of dictatorship. It is a common question, of course, how direction can take place under democratic conditions in the faculty. Democracy does not oppose authority but puts it in the right place, i.e., it minimizes authority but puts it in the right place, i.e., it minimizes authority originating from a power position and maximizes that originating from the personality. I think a principal has authority if he has human values along with his leading position. I see the essence of faculty democracy in such simple things.

[Question] Educators are sometimes viewed only as mere implementors of educational policy plans. But they are also human beings who would like to get ahead in this society. How would it be possible to pay more attention to their concerns and problems and to their careers in education?

[Answer] This is a very timely question. Timely, for if a career in education does not give an opportunity for personal success, then this situation pulls down the educator to a kind of life style whose adverse effects hardly need proof. Precisely because of the need to improve public education, a situation must be created in which the educator can have the feeling that society needs his knowledge. To be clearer, in all governmental and political work, and in the public's opinion, the school must be elevated to the level which it rightly earns and which it deserves under the requirements of today's world.

We do not have to worry about the differentiation of the schools, because--although, on the basis of our socialist ideals, we recognize the need to create equal opportunity--the creation of equal opportunity for learning includes the competition between schools as well. The institutions can compare their achievements. Although the achievements are difficult to evaluate objectively, there are certain standards on the basis of which it becomes apparent even today, which school is good and which one is weak. Therefore, good schools should be able to exist, for if they do, other schools may improve as well.

[Question] I refrain from asking questions relating to the types of school. I think, however, that there is one which we cannot avoid: at the congress of the iron workers union, the training in trade schools was strongly criticized. What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] The criticism's justification cannot be doubted. The point here is not primarily the problem of management but the trade school's social position and social role. The clarification of this is also part of the educational improvement program. Among other things, the question of what direction the 14-15 year olds should take after finishing primary school must be examined. The time of thinspread training for highly specialized fields is gone. I think it is also very problematic that a very significant part of our children must choose a profession at the age of 14-15.

At the union congress, the trade school was evaluated primarily on the basis of employers' needs and the efficiency and attitude of young skilled workers. Only modernization can improve it. In the course of the general improvement of public schooling, we must also succeed in having the trade school take its share of teaching general culture. It is also important at the same time, that the training of skilled workers follow the requirements more closely, by offering convertible knowledge which makes both employers and young workers happy.

Thus the trade school must in general approximate the standards of training in secondary schools, and training for comprehensive and large fields must be prepared, so that those beginning to take part in production will be fully valued citizens and cultured individuals.

I repeat, we are dealing with the evaluation and modernization of the trade school system as part of the public educational improvement program that is in the offing.

[Question] A debat has been going on for some time now in Kozneveles [Public Education] on the relationship between general and special education, on the role of the high school and the trade school, and the number of their students. Let me emphasize: this question was not brought up by Kozneveles, it is current in society and, to my knowledge, even the parliament's cultural committee has already been dealing with it. What is your opinion of this question complex?

[Answer] The disproportion in the number of students between the high school and the trade school was very much emphasized, precisely from the aspect of higher education. There is a general dissatisfaction about the relatively small number of high school students.

[Question] At present, 18 percent of all students in secondary schools are in high schools. This is what is considered too low.

[Answer] If the trade school is included among the secondary institutions--and it should be included today--then this is really the truth: 16 percent of the entire age group, 18 percent of the students in secondary schools, and 40 to 45 percent of students in 4-year secondary schools are in high schools. This is not sufficient for creating a university student body of an appropriate social composition. Very characteristically, 70 percent of the university students come from high school. Thus, 16 percent of an age group supply 70 percent of the students in higher education. One reason why this is an unfortunate situation is that it results in further serious distortions: partly social distortions, for the high school has fewer children of the workers and peasants who constitute the majority of society. Another distortion is that girls are in a majority in the high school, and the lack of balance between the sexes affects the opportunity for higher learning. This shows up later in the data of social mobility. The change in social position slows down, certain social strata assume an almost castlike rigidity, resulting in adverse consequences both in social development and labor management. I repeat, therefore: the observations on the high school's disproportionateness are entirely justified. But the present situation deserves attention, of course, not only from the aspect of continued education, but also

because there are too few people who show a most general interest in the culture of our country and the entire world and who are not forced at the age of 14 to choose a profession. The future's requirement is to postpone career selection to a later age. Our country's present high school system does not make this possible.

[Question] This is related to the long-range improvement plans in training and education and to the activities which cannot circumvent the important question of how the tasks of building the society can be better coordinated with the development of training. Where are we at present in sketching the future of Hungarian education?

[Answer] I have mentioned earlier that there is some lag in the implementation of the 1972 resolution on educational politics and in reaching the goals specified there. The preparations have now speeded up. As the press has revealed, the parliament's cultural committee has already been dealing with the development program in higher education. Public education's long-range improvement program will also be put on the agenda soon. And then we can begin implementing it in a way which I mentioned in the introduction. Namely, by avoiding a break and shock in the schools, by maintaining the continuity in carrying out the school's tasks, and by guarding the values of Hungarian education.

[Question] Let me ask you a question which seems to be unimportant in relation to the big questions. Unfortunately, I must make a long takeoff. The children of physical workers had administrative benefits earlier. It was decided in the 1960s to discontinue the system of administrative benefits and educators were asked at the same time to give more, and more efficient, help to the children of physical workers. One significant form of this help was the system of courses preparing for further education. But very soon, people in other social strata began to ask why their children could not have such preparatory courses designed for them. In a socialist country, the answer could not be other than yes, they could, for it is our principle to acknowledge someone's wish to further his knowledge. This led, however, to a peculiar situation. We are almost boasting about the fact that no type of school fulfills its function, every school needs a supplementary program to be accepted at the next higher level. But the primary school had 8 years, and the secondary school had 4 years to help disadvantaged children, and where they go from there—in the secondary school or at the university—they will continue for another 4 or 5 years to be in the hands of educators. My question, then, is: would it be possible to include these supplementary programs in the curricula? Don't you think, Comrade Minister, that the time has come for helping the disadvantaged within the framework of everyday school activity?

[Answer] I think, indeed, that the time has come. These courses, however good they are, without doubt manifest problems in the school system. Although partly, and earlier, they also manifested social problems, i.e., the fact that at the start, the family and social environment did not give enough strength to children coming from here to continue their education. The schools also had to help in this, and it was justified to create special and exceptional ways of help.

Help is, of course, extremely important even today, but I think the time of special ways of help is gone. In addition, if we were to continue to maintain

these ways, then we would continue to legalize the schools' shortcomings in implementing their tasks, curricula and programs. And another thing: I recognize that the school system as a whole still cannot meet every social requirement, but it should at least select the exceptionally talented and create schools for them in which they can learn a great amount under very high requirements. This does not mean the creation of elite schools. The point is not that; it is rather a social potential and possibility which we should exploit better. I am not against creating outstanding schools or a school for the outstanding if it is done by strong educators and faculty in a way which will turn out not antisocial and personality-handicapped people by knowledgable social human beings, for the benefit of the entire society.

[Question] Lastly, allow me a personal question. As a "practicing father," what is your opinion: is it easy or difficult to be a parent today?

[Answer] I think it is difficult. I must say this even if I may confess that I am lucky with my children. I am not being modest: the fact that they grew up in an environment which was conducive to consistent work probably also plays a role in this. I must have said somewhere, and I repeat now: we did not lecture them on work; they had to learn that work is unavoidable, they must do it. I feel that I have responsible children who study well. Still, it is difficult for me, too, to be a good parent. Partly because I am very busy, and partly because today's children are dealing with life's and society's problems through a different kind of knowledge, experience and approach, requiring from me a constant readiness and effort to live up to them. I think the world has changed: more and more, it is the parent who must have the ambition to live up to his children. The antecedent of this is, of course, that both myself and my wife, who took a larger share of family matters, first set high requirements for the children which, I think, they have fulfilled. This mutual fulfillment of requirements has been established in my family. My son is a successful union in engineering, and my daughter is a sophomore in the medical school. And now that these personal matters have been brought up, I must make a special mention of my gratitude to destiny that they got into the university through their ability, by reaching the necessary point average and thus even a suspicion of using connections may be eliminated. I think this has significance in my position.

9414

CSO: 2500

PZPR SEVENTH PLENUM RESOLUTION ON ESTABLISHING CC ISSUES COMMISSIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 1980 pp 10-11

[Text] In order to increase the influence of the members of the central party echelons on working out the programmatic proposals and decisions of the Central Committee, the following issues commissions are established: organizational, ideological, economic, agricultural, trade union movement and youth.

Members and candidate members of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretaries of voivodship committees, and heads of Central Committee departments who are not members of central party echelons will become members of the commissions.

Central Committee Organizational Commission

1. Stanisław ARASIMOWICZ
2. Kazimierz BARCIKOWSKI
3. Andrzej BAREYK
4. Henryk BIENIASZEWSKI
5. Lech CIUPA
6. Kazimierz CYPRYNIAK
7. Lesław CZUBIŃSKI
8. Zdzisław DREWNIOWSKI
9. Witold GADOMSKI
10. Stanisław GIERCZYK
11. Jan GLUZA
12. Stefan GÓRALIK
13. Antoni GÓRNY
14. Zofia GRZYB
15. Helena JAKUBEK
16. Władysław KANDEFER
17. Bolesław KAPITAN
18. Alojzy KARKOSZKA
19. Józef KĘPA
20. Stanisław KOCIOLAK
21. Jolanta KOSTRZEWSKA
22. Roman KOZIOŁ
23. Janusz KUBASIEWICZ
24. Igor ŁOPATYŃSKI
25. Ryszard ŁUKASIEWICZ
26. Genowefa MACIEJEWSKA
27. Stefan MATŁĘGA

28. Stefan MISIASZEK
29. Stanisław MISKIEWICZ
30. Eugeniusz MOLCZYK
31. Roman NEY
32. Mieczysław PRZYBUCHA
33. Zbigniew REGUŁKI
34. Kazimierz ROKOSZEWSKI
35. Florian SIWICKI
36. Zbigniew SKOCZYŁAK
37. Bogusław STACHURA
38. Zygmunt STĘPIEK
39. Henryk SZARLAK
40. Ewa SZALAŃSKA
41. Henryk ŚWIDERSKI
42. Tadeusz TUCZAPSKI
43. Antoni WRÓBEL
44. Stanisław ZIELIŃSKI
45. Zygmunt ZIELIŃSKI

Central Committee Ideological Commission

1. Michał ATLAS
2. Zdzisław BALICKI
3. Józef BARECKI
4. Józef BARYŁA
5. Henryk BEDNARSKI
6. Wiesław BEN
7. Zbigniew BIAŁECKI
8. Józef CZYREK
9. Wit DRAPICH

10. Tadeusz FISZBACH
11. Zygmunt GAJEWSKI
12. Bogdan GAWRONSKI
13. Janusz GÓRSKI
14. Wojciech JARUZELSKI
15. Czesław KISZCZAK
16. Józef KLASA
17. Jerzy KUBERSKI
18. Jerzy KUSIAK
19. Mironław MILEWSKI
20. Mieczysław MOCZAR
21. Walery NAMIOŃKIEWICZ
22. Witold NOWACKI
23. Stefan OLESZOWSKI
24. Wacław PIĄTKOWSKI
25. Jerzy PUTRAMENT
26. Mieczysław RAKOWSKI
27. Bohdan ROLIŃSKI
28. Janusz ROSZKOWSKI
29. Waldemar SZPALIŃSKI
30. Eugeniusz SZYR
31. Józef TEJCHMA
32. Alfred WALEK
33. Andrzej WASILEWSKI
34. Jerzy WASZCZUK
35. Andrzej WERBLAN
36. Włodzisław WESOŁOWSKI
37. Ryszard WOJNA

38. Edmund WOJNOWSKI
39. Emil WOJTASZEK
40. Mieczysław WÓJTCZAK
41. Stanisław WRÓŃSKI
42. Zenon WRÓBLEWSKI
43. Władysław ZASTAWNY
44. Jerzy ZIĘTEK
45. Andrzej ZABIŃSKI

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

ECONOMIC COMMISSION

1. Adam BALDYS
2. Zbigniew BARTOSIEWICZ
3. Tadeusz BEJN
4. Jerzy BIELECKI
5. Andrzej BORKOWSKI
6. Paweł BOŻYK
7. Zbigniew CHODYŁA
8. Stanisław CIOSEK
9. Lech CIUPA
10. Tadeusz CZECHOWICZ
11. Ignacy DRABIK
12. Ludwik DROZDZ
13. Stefan FIUK
14. Stanisław GEBALA
15. Manfred GORYWODA
16. Janusz GÓRSKI
17. Kazimiera GROMADA
18. Tadeusz HALADAJ
19. Mieczysław JAGIELSKI
20. Józef JANISZEWSKI
21. Ryszard KARSKI
22. Henryk KISIEL
23. Aleksander KOPEC
24. Bolesław KOWALCZYK
25. Adam KOWALIK
26. Władysław KRUK
27. Zdzisław LEGOMSKI
28. Tadeusz LUDWIKOWSKI
29. Ryszard LABUS
30. Jadwiga LOKKAJ
31. Jerzy MAJEWSKI
32. Alojzy MELICH
33. Michał NIEDZWIEDZ
34. Zbigniew NOWAK
35. Jadwiga NOWAKOWSKA
36. Mieczysław OBIEDZINSKI
37. Stanisław OPALKO
38. Józef PAJESTKA
39. Janusz PROKOPIAK
40. Edward PUSTELNIK

41. Eugeniusz PUSTÓWKA
42. Krystyna RAWECKA
43. Ryszard ROMANIEWICZ
44. Tadeusz RUDOLF
45. Zygmunt RYBICKI
46. Jerzy SKALSKI
47. Stanisław SKŁADOWSKI
48. Janina SKUBLIŃSKA
49. Jerzy SMYCZYŃSKI
50. Henryk SZAFRAŃSKI
51. Zbigniew SZALAJDA
52. Eugeniusz SZYB
53. Krzysztof TRZACZKIEWICZ
54. Włodzisław TRZEBIATOWSKI
55. Mieczysław ZAJFRED
56. Janina ZALEWSKA
57. Zbigniew ZIELIŃSKI

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION

1. Edmund APOLINARSKI
2. Roman BAJERSKI
3. Krzysztof DEJURA
4. Leonard GADZINOWSKI
5. Zofia GRZEBIEŃ-NOWICKA
6. Kazimierz GURGUL
7. Mieczysław HERDA
8. Michał JAKUBIEC
9. Ryszard JĘDRZEJ
10. Jan KAMINSKI
11. Antoni KARPIAK
12. Maria KARWALA
13. Leon KLONICA
14. Tadeusz KOŚCIEWSKI
15. Władysław KOZDRA
16. Stanisław KRÓLIK
17. Zdzisław LUCIŃSKI
18. Stanisław MACH
19. Józef MAJCHERZAK
20. Józef MASNY
21. Ludwik MAŁNICKI
22. Józef NIEWIADOMSKI
23. Antoni POŁOWNIAK
24. Danuta RADOCH
25. Mieczysław RÓG-SWISTEK
26. Cecylia RUDZIŃSKA
27. Ryszard SOCHA
28. Mieczysław SOLECKI
29. Stanisław SOLTYSIŃSKI
30. Tadeusz STASIAK
31. Edward SZYMAŃSKI
32. Franciszek TEKLIŃSKI
33. Jerzy WOJTECKI
34. Zygmunt WRÓŃSKI
35. Stefan ZAWODZIŃSKI

CENTRAL COMMITTEE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT COMMISSION

1. Stanisław ARASIMOWICZ
2. Jadwiga BECHLEWSKA
3. Józef BŁAJET
4. Janusz BRYCH
5. Ryszard BRYK
6. Józef BUZIŃSKI
7. Krystyna DĄBROWA
8. Czesław DROZDOWICZ
9. Bolesław DROZDZ
10. Gerard GABYS
11. Jerzy GOLIS
12. Tadeusz GRABSKI
13. Mieczysław GRAD
14. Jerzy GROCHMALICKI
15. Mieczysław GRUDEK
16. Zdzisław GRUDEK
17. Józef GRYGIEL
18. Wanda HORRACZEWSKA
19. Bogusław JAMRÓZ
20. Romuald JANKOWSKI
21. Władysław JARECKI
22. Eugenia KEMPAROWA
23. Stanisław KOWALCZYK
24. Władysław KRUCZEK
25. Barbara KUBACKA
26. Jadwiga KUCZYŃSKA
27. Stanisław KUKURYKA
28. Jan LES
29. Władysław LESIAK
30. Henryk LEWANDOWSKI
31. Jan LABĘCKI
32. Jan Stanisław MAJKA
33. Maria MILCZAREK
34. Zygmunt OLEŃIAK
35. Janusz OWCZAREK
36. Stefania PARUZEL
37. Michał PIECHOCKI
38. Antoni PIERS
39. Jerzy ROMANT
40. Jerzy SKALSKI
41. Stanisław STACHNIK
42. Roman STACHOŃ
43. Maria ŚLIWIŃSKI
44. Jan URBANOWICZ
45. Włodzisław WESOŁOWSKI
46. Konstanty WIŚNIEWSKI
47. Zdzisław ZADROŻNA

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE
YOUTH COMMISSION**

1. Józef ADAMK
2. Wojciech BARAŃSKI
3. Andrzej BOBOWSKI
4. Jan BURAS
5. Stanisław GABRIELSKI
6. Zbigniew GŁOWACKI
7. Ludwik JANCZYŹYŃ
8. Marian JANICKI
9. Kazimierz JARZĄBEK
10. Franciszek KARP
11. Andrzej KOLTEK
12. Henryk KOSTECKI
13. Emilia KRON
14. Stanisław KRUK
15. Edmund KUROWSKI
16. Władysława LABUZIŃSKA
17. Tadeusz ŁOMNICKI
18. Jacek MACIEJEWSKI
19. Zygmunt NAJDOWSKI
20. Józef NOWAK
21. Grażyna PIETKA
22. Tadeusz POŁEŃSKI
23. Henryk RECHOWICZ
24. Albin SIWAŁ
25. Konstanty WIŚNIEWSKI
26. Jerzy WOJCIECHOWSKI
27. Stanisław WRÓŃSKI
28. Halina ZIELIŃSKA

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

INTERVIEW WITH MEDICAL SCIENTIST, RECIPIENT OF FRENCH AWARD

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 15 Jan 81 p 9; 22 Jan 81 p 26

[Interview with Dr Docent G. Marinescu-Dinizvor by Ion Predosanu]

[15 Jan 81 p 9]

[Text] A local report in SCINTEIA dated 23 December 1980 rejoiced our hearts:

"Pleiad Order Awarded to Romanian Scientist. A ceremony took place in Paris for awarding the Pleiad Order to Romanian scientist Gheorghe Marinescu, chief physician and section head at the Bucharest Victor Babes Hospital for Infectious Diseases. The award was presented by Xavier Deniau, secretary general of the International Association of French Language Parliamentarians. The addresses made at the ceremony pointed out the traditional ties between the two cultures and nations."

This report sent by Agerpres and France Presse was printed by all central newspapers in Romania and in the French newspaper LE FIGARO but not by the journal MUNCITORUL SANITAR [Health Worker]. We asked the distinguished scientist Dr Docent Gheorghe Marinescu-Dinizvor to give FLACARA readers more details on this event.

[Question] We have noticed that you have certain reservations, that for a while now you have been avoiding us....

[Answer] For several reasons. In the first place I do not want you to harm my relations with some people in the Ministry of Health for whom I have special consideration. In addition to its many journalistic successes FLACARA review willy-nilly triggered some situations of dissatisfaction among the medical workers in this country, because of some newsmen's affinity for imposing at any cost some concepts and matters that sometimes circumvent genuine medical deontology. Moreover, I also wanted to be certain that I receive the award involved in the context of a formal ceremony. Furthermore, but not in the third place, I am afraid people would say it is a matter of advertizing and I do not need such a thing. True, it was normal, as you also remarked, for the journal on which I depend professionally to be the first

to request this interview for the purpose of accurately informing the hundreds of colleagues who asked me by telephone, even from the provinces, for detailed explanations.

[Question] That is why I will do my best to avoid matters that you consider sensitive. I would like to tell you from the outset that I know much, even very much about you. While waiting for this dialog, I gathered details on your professional and scientific activity from publications and official papers. In the first place I gathered data from the two dictionaries which carry biographical data on noted world scientists: the first, "World Who's Who in Science, a biographical dictionary of notable scientists from antiquity to the present," first edition, 1967, editor Allen G. Debus, Professor of the History of Science, University of Chicago; the second, Dictionary of International Biography," by Cox and Wyman, Ltd. Fakenham and Reading, London, 1971. Moreover, I gathered data from FORUM, the review of Higher Education (1978, No 7-8, pp 56-63) which deals in detail with your activity, scientific titles and surveys, and from summaries that were requested from you for various competitions (chief physician grade I, docent, university professor). Furthermore, I surveyed a number of excerpts and official papers reproduced in various publications or decorating the walls of your office here, at the hospital. Occupying a place of honor is the splendid description of the activity and scientific results made by academician Georges Girard in the reception speech at the Academy of Sciences of Overseas Territories, marked by the presence of academician Raymond Giscard d'Estaing, the father of the President of France. Mr Girard's speech stated: "He has become a researcher whose name is familiar and well-known in world scientific literature." In spite of your characteristic unassumingness and self-exactingness, as a man who has devoted his life to patients and science, please tell us what this distinction means and for what merits is it awarded?

[Answer] As is known, the French language was, until the eve of World War II, the diplomatic language, a primary language of world circulation. It gradually yielded this position to the English language. The French language took the lead over the Latin language, which figured as the language of interstate relations throughout the Middle Ages and a part of the modern era, initially thanks to the activity of a group of seven French writers headed by Pierre Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay. This group, at first called the "Brigade" and later, the "Pleiad," relating to the celestial constellation, also drew up a manifesto entitled "Defense et Illustration de la Langue Francaise" [Defense and Illustration of the French Language], with the proclaimed aim of helping to rehabilitate the French language. Several years back, the parliaments of 35 Francophone states, wishing to see the French language regain its former prestige, established an International Association of French Language Parliamentarians for the "promotion of French in the dialog of cultures." They also instituted an award called "L'Ordre de la Pleiade" [Order of the Pleiad], to be given periodically to those who distinguished themselves in their work, using the French language in international relations. The distinction was also awarded to a number of noted personalities that included: Kurt Waldheim, UN secretary general; Leon Barre and

Chaban-Delmas, respectively the prime minister and the chairman of the French National Assembly; Leopold Sedar Senghor, ex-President of Senegal, professor at the Sorbonne and member of the French Academy; Corneliu Manescu, the Romanian ambassador in Paris, former chairman of the UN General Assembly, and others.

[Question] Allow us to quote some specifics from LE FIGARO and from the addresses made at the ceremony of awarding the Order of the Pleiad with respect to your entire and ample scientific activity and recall that this activity involves five medical monographs, more than 300 scientific articles, lectures and reports, most of them in Pasteur's language, the four prizes awarded by the Paris Academy of Medicine and Sciences for surveys in the field of infantile paralysis, measles, acute infectious lymphocytosis and infectious mononucleosis. Through the French language, Romanian research, that is your research, was better known in the world, as it was quoted in very many specialized reviews and in 19 treatises, monographs and textbooks. We will only list the title, translated into Romanian, and the author of these surveys, the publishers, the year and page may be found specified even in the speech delivered by academicien Georges Girard, as mentioned above, at the ceremony marking your reception to the above academy 3 years back. The books are: "Guide to Infectious Diseases," by Bilibin and Rudnev, "Influenza," by Smorodintev and Korovin, "Pathomorphological Changes in Influenza," by Maximovich et al, "Pathological Anatomy of Poliomyelitis," by Margupov et al, all printed in the Soviet Union; "Viral Infections in Children," by Rose and "Influenza Viruses," by Hoyle, both in the United States; "Viral Diseases in Humans," by Haagen and "Treatise of Infectious Diseases in Children," by Opitz and Schmidt, in Federal Germany; "Treatise of Infectious Diseases," by Giunchi and Soricu, in Italy; "Neurorespiratory Reanimation," by Corominas-Beret, in Spain; "Treatise of Infectious Diseases," by Gsell and Mohr, in Switzerland; "Treatise of Infectious and Parasitic Diseases," by Bastin et al, "Treatise of Virological Clinic," by Debre and Cellers, "Medical-Surgical Encyclopedia," chapter written by Giroud et al, the monograph "Acute Myocardites," by Grenier and four doctoral theses with topics on infantile paralysis by Lorrain, Cotton, Marty and Chourot, all in France. Thanks to this scientific activity, which has become known on a world scale through the French language, you have in the first place won a resounding success by your election to the French Academy of Medicine, by 62 votes for out of 69 possible, in the fourth section of biological sciences, where the elected include many Nobel Prize recipients, a section in which you are the third Romanian man of science to honor it after the great predecessors in the area of infectious pathology Victor Babes, elected in 1891, and Ioan Cantacuzino, elected in 1922. You also were elected a corresponding member or associate of seven other academic societies and 12 medical scientific societies in England, Austria, Canada, France, Federal Germany, Italy, and the United States. You also are a member of editorial boards of five specialized reviews in Belgium, France, Italy and Federal Germany. Now, after this introduction, that could serve as a substitute for a curriculum vitae, please give us your view on the current status of Romanian medical science.

[Answer]We have a few valuable results and that is about all.

[Question] What does this mean?

[Answer] Far from thinking of wronging anyone, I would like to state that on an overall scale, Romanian medical science has notable results but does not have adequate international competitiveness as I see that Romanian chemistry, physics and mathematics have. Fine, exceptional results only exist in a few domains, that could be counted on one's fingers, results which are comparable to those abroad, but this is not enough, our science must have absolute priority, like Nadia Comaneci at Montreal! Do you understand what I have in mind? For instance, can you give me the name of any Romanian physician who is a Nobel Prize holder?

[Question] Not a Romanian but of Romanian origin: George Palade. What should be done, in your view, so that in a few years' time we may have an affirmative answer to such a question?

[Answer] Much! Very much. It is difficult to cover it in such an interview. In the first place, it is necessary to change, for instance, the outlook of those who recruit cadres for research. There should not be the prevalence of the criterion involving favoritism and nepotism, to tell it plainly, or crammers' examinations, but the criterion of inventivity and the intellectual ability of the candidates! For example, if I were the head of a collective, of a research facility, I would not accept for a job a scientific worker that does not have in his curriculum an innovation or a unique activity in the field chosen for research. I would train, from the first student years, our enthusiastic youngsters, and I met scores of them, for practical work and research, in an appropriate climate, in a favorable atmosphere. Let the medical student, for instance, know that he will not stay in a research facility, in a town, if he does not actually have a highly valuable scientific research work. In foreign countries there are specific foundations and institutions that subsidize specifically important research projects such as infantile paralysis or cancer. In Romania, a possibility would involve state-granted loans for research, that would be repayable in case of insuccess, beginning with the first pay as a physician, and upon the completion of the innovation the state will have to reward, to award a prize for the research involved in case of success, with the immediate result of the person's integration into research work. Everything would proceed exactly as it does in the case of one's applying for a loan to build a house or an apartment, but one uses it to build one's name, one's reputation, and all would be put to the patient's use. I do not state that this would be the only modality, other procedures might be devised, I do not claim that my suggestion is the best and must be necessarily endorsed. Of course, this is an excessively difficult project, but it is not impossible! The inventor is required to have passion and perseverance, great self-dedication, a kind of "madness," a "fever" of discovery.

[Question] How can the student find the time?

[Answer] He still has some availabilities, but I admit that students rather use up their time at classes and minor classes of too many professors and minor professors, in a lot of didactic work to the detriment of their free time when they could build their personality. I do not have anything against teachers who pamper their students, I wish they were very numerous, but they themselves should prove to be physicians with great qualities in research work, people with unique achievements in their field, veritable models to follow for their students. Briefly, let us create a trend, a school of scientific medical research, not a school of scientific "reports" and "projects." I recall a lecture of the great scientist and inventor Henri Coanda, given at one of the Bucharest lyceums, that wound up with the words: "Do you have an additional researcher, inventor?"

[Question] What is your view on probation, on physicians on probation?

[Answer] I have a definite view. My work collective and the probationers who worked in my department know it fairly well. I will elaborate on it another time. For now, I would like to point out that I am very fond of probationers, like a father who sees his son helpless! I have long worked with students and graduates, I have a domestic and international didactic experience which permits me to formulate some constructive opinions. In Bucharest, like in Munich, Berlin, Paris, Toulouse and Turin, where I got in touch with them, through the lectures and courses given, I found that they almost are identical when you are fond of them, when you come close to them, when you encourage the best in each of them. I feel that 28 student projects and diploma surveys which I headed while I held an office in higher education and several scores of reports completed subsequently with young cadres who passed through the section which I directed rather attest to this. However, when I see that our probationer, after 7 years of college, does not know how to handle diagnosis and treatment, does not know, because he has never done it before, for example, how to make a lumbar punctum or to extract pleural fluid for diagnosis and treatment, and also other procedures, I feel, I must confess, not anger, but outright pity! It is not they we should blame! I only want to point out that the faculty of medicine, this factory for turning out workers to repair the human machine, must primarily be practical! And the three additional years put a burden on the age budget and on the state budget, when there is the need for the student, after having graduated from this school for turning out physicians, to mandatorily know, in terms of practical work, all the procedures that assure him the title of physician and permit him from the outset to assert himself before the medium-grade health personnel. Of course, there are very well trained young graduates, who used their vacations or free time for practical tours of duty and second medical inspections during their undergraduate years. We could say, suggest, and correct a lot. The probation period, as it is now, comes to complement that practical deficiency of the graduate. Moreover, by creating a favorable climate in the health units, the physician during the probation period has more free time available than the student and can also wield a field-marshal's baton -- scientific research!

[Question] How long have you worked in a hospital?

[Answer] I have entered my 38th year of medical practice.

[Question] I was told that you are almost always at the hospital, sometimes starting at 4 in the morning. The doorman told me that often he is at a loss and does not know what to tell those who are looking for you: "I don't know, I came in at 6 and did not see him, he might be in" or something like this and always they find you at the hospital. How come that you are so fond of the hospital?

[Answer] It is quite simple. From the beginning, I spent my nonresidence period as if I were a medical intern, I always had a room at the hospital, I constantly was on emergency room duty in exchange for meals, then came the internship proper, and this is how I never got rid of the hospital and I do not even wish this to happen.

[Question] Excuse me for interrupting, I was also told that you do not have any holidays or vacations, it is like everything would consist of an endless array of workdays.

[Answer] Nothing special. There are others like me! We, physicians, are involved with diseases and patients. Neither diseases nor patients mark holidays.

[Question] I do not believe that this is the situation. For instance, now you are not on a tour of duty, there are several tens of minutes until the end of this year. Why did all the physicians gather in this ward, called B3?

[Answer] Tradition! All know that on New Year's Eve, for many years now, they have been my guests, we gather in this ward and toast a glass of champagne. The arrivals now include a chief physician, a specialist, four probationers, that is all the senior medical staff on duty from all the hospital sections, plus six nurses from the section which I am heading. That is the kind of New Year's Eve party we, physicians, have. And because I am a physician, allow me to use the columns of FLACARA review, you see that I cannot do it in MUNCITORUL SANITAR, to extend to the leading body of the Ministry of Health and personally to Professor Eugen Proca, my respectful thanks this time again when they facilitated my participation in the ceremony of awarding the Order of the Pleiad, giving me the opportunity to grant this interview. I wish a traditional "Happy New Year" to my colleagues, to the Hippocratic health staff.

[22 Jan 81 p 26]

[Text] [Question] Resuming our talk in regard to the award the Order of the Pleiad, that was given to you by the International Association of French Language Parliamentarians, an international political act of confirmation, of recognition of the prestige of Romanian science, let us also touch on less pleasant matters. For a while now you have been avoiding us. Do you have anything against FLACARA review?

[Answer] I am not against FLACARA review, I am against the mode of reflecting some medical realities by several of your colleagues. Personally, I may say that I even like much some reporters of FLACARA. After a period in which it seemed that the mighty in medicine had hindered some attempts at medical research for unfounded reasons, allegedly that only specific persons could conduct research and surveys, FLACARA review moved with great courage, to the satisfaction of the great majority of physicians in the drive to correct things. However, because it did not have specialized people, with objective views, let us say, technical medical consultants, in the college of the review, some articles of a doubtful standard, on doubtful research slipped in, and these have been providing arguments in favor of its foes, who add to those "bitten," of course rightly by FLACARA review and there are many of these too. FLACARA review published two of my interviews correctly, of a deontological and of course journalistic standard, of which I cannot complain: one in 1974, on the eve of the 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, and another, in 1977, on my admission to the French Academy of Science.

[Question] Now, on the eve of the new year, what wishes do you extend to our review?

[Answer] "May the bad things vanish, may the good things accumulate." Moreover, I want to thank it for also publishing my personal opinion of it. As a matter of fact, this also constitutes its strength! To the chief editor, poeta vates, Adrian Paunescu, I say, not as the last, but as an old admirer, this time: "Caveat ne consules!"

[Question] Which means?

[Answer] He should be apprehensive that more exaggerations and distortions might slip in, he should scold some collaborators, because the supreme goal of FLACARA review is, as I understand, to throb, to burn like a flame [FLACARA means flame] for the discovery and promotion of truth, of beauty, of novelty and of justice. I take the liberty of suggesting to the distinguished poet and journalist Adrian Paunescu, if I may say so without offence, to also write a volume entitled "Manifesto for the Health of Romanian Science."

[Question] You are the author of 365 scientific studies and surveys, articles and lectures, author and co-author of five monographs on infectious lymphocytosis, infectious mononucleosis, poliomyelitis, measles, and meningococcal infection, printed in Romanian, French, Russian, Italian, German and other languages. You are primarily a clinician, chief physician grade I, the head of a section with patients and we guess that your surveys, at least those which received awards abroad, stemmed from the clinic, passed through the laboratory and went back to the clinic to the patients. At least, this was also stated in the material which I consulted. I do not know if you also have a laboratory. I would also like to know how did you create so many works, whose value we do not doubt since they are mentioned in the most prestigious specialized treatises in the world?"

[Answer] Let us also use a little bit of history. As long as pluralism was permitted, things were simpler. From 1950 until 1967 I worked concurrently in the clinic and at the Academy's Institute of Virology, under the leadership of academician S. Nicolau, where I functioned as a laboratory head. In 1969, the Ministry of Health approved the establishment of a laboratory of virology and experimental pathology at the level of the Bucharest "Victor Babes" Hospital of Infectious Diseases, staffed adequately. In 1976 I had a longer sojourn in the Federal Republic of Germany, invited as a guest professor to give courses at the Munich University. On my return I found that the laboratory had been moved from the ward to which it was tied functionally and that the staff had been dispersed and diminished. The current laboratory does not meet expectations in terms of scientific standards. When there is the need for a more delicate, sophisticated and highly specialized analysis I have to call on other people, to place requests with the Institute of Virology, the "Dr I. Cantacuzino" Institute, the "Victor Babes" Institute, the Center of Hematology, the "N. G. Lupu" Institute of Internal Medicine and other Romanian facilities. In some cases, when there was a very special situation, I collaborated with scientists in Paris and Munich. For example, one of my scientific surveys "Research on Immunofluorescent Antibodies E.B. Virus in the Diagnosis of Infectious Mononucleosis" was developed in cooperation with Prof O. Goetz of Munich and personally reported at one of the meetings of the Paris Academy of Medicine. The survey, together with other investigations, 15 studies and monographs issued in Romanian and Russian, pertaining to infectious mononucleosis, were awarded the prize "Doisteau-Blutel" of the Paris Academy of Sciences. On that occasion I had the privilege of being received by the chairman of the French Academy and by the French minister of universities. To revert to our topic, when one does not have a well-appointed laboratory and very proficient staff it is very difficult to conduct research. Much energy is lost sometimes to obtain too little or even nothing.

[Question] Certainly many of your studies are part of applied research and this is very good, but I believe that you do not neglect basic research. What are your goals in this field?

[Answer] You will say that it is false modesty, but I am not too satisfied with my scientific work. It is true that from 100 attempts I obtain one which is good, a result which seems to me satisfactory, it also gives me some momentary contentment, these studies are mentioned, receive awards, and so on. But I feel that with this I have not even reached the gate of great science! At this point I am involved with many studies on various facets of infectious pathology in viral hepatitis, scarlet fever, infectious mononucleosis, urlian infection, and so forth.

[Question] I learned that you also made a very appreciated scientific-educational film.

[Answer] Yes. It is a film that was made in conjunction with the Institute for Hygiene. It deals with epidemic neurocrinitis, as I designated as early as in the days of my internship in medicine the mumps -- the topic of my doctoral thesis in 1949, to which, as I mentioned, I provided an input as early as my undergraduate days. But I would like to revert to great, true science! I would be happy to provide an answer to a question which has been

exercising my mind for a long while, namely, how come that infectious mononucleosis or acute infectious lymphocytosis, transmissible diseases that affect the lymphatic ganglionic system and whose hematologic picture, the modifications of the white corpuscles resemble leukemias (increased number of leukocytes, atypism of monocytes, and so on) are cured after a specific period and leukemias have a reserved evolution? What causes the presence of the virus situated in the herpes group, an E.B. virus, in both situations, of benign status and malignant status, to result in the two directions?

[Question] I feel that in order to answer such questions, one requires among others, equipment, sound technology, collaborators and of course strenuous effort, of which anyway you are not afraid. It is rumored that out of 24 hours you work, you can be easily found at the hospital sometimes 18-20 hours! When do you rest? Don't you feel the fatigue?

[Answer] Not at all! But this thing may happen to anyone! This seems to me an ordinary occurrence. On the wall here I have a quotation from a speech by Nicolae Ceausescu at a plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology held on 28 April 1974, a quotation which has become a veritable profession of faith: "Research involves passion, full dedication, creative thinking, imagination, effort." If in life one learns how to work constantly, to be polite, to be fair, one stays this way all one's life, that is one develops reflexes and it is not bad at all, it is very difficult to free oneself from the habit. Going to bed and waking up at set hours become practice like the athletes' training, even when one sleeps less in terms of time, one is not tired. The schedule, like some reflexes, becomes a habit. While a student in high school and college I was going to bed around 11 p.m. and going up at 4 in the morning. I seldom lost a night's sleep unless it was a matter of emergency duty at a patient's bed. Due to proper time structuring I was able to attend two faculties concomitantly....

[Question] I know it, I have the information. According to certificate 9236, you graduated from the Faculty of Medicine with the rating average 9.18, classified the first of the batch in the June 1947 session and the Faculty of Law, according to diploma 36745, of June 1946, with results in balls.

[Answer] If you allow me to continue the idea the work which I perform does not seem tiring to me also for another reason: I do it with great pleasure, as a delight, because I am confident that it serves a noble aim. Moreover, I alternate activities. A visit to the patient's bed may be followed by a study in the laboratory, a project of medical documentation for information on all new scientific developments, then organizational, instructional-educational and supervisory work in the section, meetings for scientific reports with the medical collective, drafting of scientific surveys, special consultations, to which are added periodically....

[Question] Let me continue. As I read on billboards in the town you give lectures and courses on infectious diseases at the Cultural-Scientific

University where you also are the study director, the head of the section of biomedicine. You participate in the meetings of the "Vasile Voiculescu" literary circle of physicians, whose secretary you are, in the "George Calinescu" circle of the Academy, where you are a member of the bureau. But when do you have time for poetry, that "violon d'Ingres?"

[Answer] Sometimes there are some open windows left. I feel the need to peruse one or another of the many paramedical reviews which I always keep with me or I feel the need to put down a few images, metaphors, verses on a piece of paper. This also happens to me during my four daily walks to and from the hospital or even on the streetcar or any transit facility, no matter how crowded it may be. I recall that in 1975, I prepared my first course on infectious diseases for the students of the West Berlin University on the plane that took me from Bucharest. The site where I am reading does by no means inconvenience me, provided I am in a good mood....

[Question] Recently, on 2 December, you too had your Austerlitz....

[Answer] I do not understand.

[Question] A kind of Austerlitz, I was trying a figure of speech. You experienced an outstanding literary event, which is being discussed: the launching of your book beautifully titled "Pururea" [Eternally], at the "Dacia" bookstore, an event at which speeches of high praise were made by poet Nichita Stanescu, Prof G. Bulgar and Virgil Cutitaru, director of the "Junimea" Publishing House. Apparently, you are the first author in Romanian literature to use in his poetry the oldest words, with an assumed Dacian substratum, first structuring them into a basic poem, of great amplitude, in amphibrachic rhythm and Alexandrine verse, later resumed and sung separately, in verses with a distinctive lyrical resonance, which prompted Nichita Stanescu to exclaim in a review in ROMANIA LITERARA: "His book, carefully read, is the book of an authentic poet." He goes on: "The beauty of the book by our beloved scientist lies in its investigative spirit. Gheorghe Marinescu, who called himself Gheorghe Dinizvor [Dinizvor is translated "from the source"], a fine name, dear to our hearts...."

[Answer] Forget the quotations, please, let us see what others, especially the critics, will say!

[Question] Precisely, I would like to quote from the praise written by the literary historian and critic academician Serban Cioculescu, on the book's jacket: "An act of lyrical-epic piety to mark a great anniversary -- 2050 years since the unity of the Geto-Dacian state, under Burebista."

[Answer] People will think that this is advertizing.

[Question] Allow me to recall six verses, an admirable haiku, song 8, illustrative of "Eternally," a hymn to the permanence of the Romanian nation: "The leafy forest can / shed its foliage / The waters can flow again / swiftly toward the sea // We have ever been here / immovable rock...." The

patriotism which emanates from reading these verses and even the pen name which you have chosen, Dinizvor, reflects a specific facet of your personality. From pictures I saw that you handed the book "Eternally," at the time of the Paris ceremony, to the secretary general of the International Association of French Language Parliamentarians. Consequently, you are an ambassador of the language of our protoparents, of our Dacian ancestors, of the oldest inhabitants of this land. You went about 25 times abroad and every time you came back with a trophy, including: four awards of the Paris Academy of Sciences and Medicine, memberships of eight academic societies and 12 international scientific societies, memberships in the editorial boards of five foreign medical journals, and the latest trip was crowned with the Order of the Pleiad. For so many merits in the medical and scientific field in the last 10-15 years did you receive any Romanian award?

[Answer] No!

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Please ask the agencies concerned!

[Question] Are you also a member of the Romanian Academy?

[Answer] No!

[Question] On several occasions you taught as a professor in Federal Germany and West Berlin. If you requested to give courses, for example, in Moscow, Paris, or New York, what would your chances be?

[Answer] I believe that I would not be turned down.

[Question] But in Bucharest?

[Answer] Please direct your question to the Ministry of Education and Instruction.

[Question] Considering the energy, drive and perseverance which you have displayed, it is my impression that you are in a speed race, resolved to win what you have long been entitled to.

[Answer] You are right, but until that time I write. I am writing a novel in which I frontally attack the problem of the modern physician's status, called "The Cricifixion of Hippocrates." There are many errors in medicine and I will discuss many of them in the novel. The errors are provided by the physician as such but also by circumstances. Furthermore, there are great beauties of the medical profession, of self-devotion, which have been insufficiently treated in literature.... I have already written several chapters of the novel.

[Question] Your scientific work has brought you great satisfaction on an international scale.

[Answer] Yes, but I would have had an even greater satisfaction as a patriot and a Romanian if this recognition would have occurred in the first place at home!

[Question] You are a man who is constantly dissatisfied, continuously seething, if one may say so. I guess you are continuing your activity with even greater keenness?

[Answer] Of course. Regardless of the recognition or nonrecognition of my activity, I primarily pursue the aim in itself, not only the formal matter of titles. The struggle must not be necessarily made contingent upon victory or upon its recognition, but must be conducted in the first place for its beauty and ideal!

[Question] I am certain that you will win, that you will not give up.

[Answer] You can be sure. I hail from the Izvoru commune, Arges County, hence I have a source of my own. Do you know what the inscription on my father's tomb says? "Children, do not give up!" Moreover, I am an incurable optimist, I am a Dinizvor, I am a kind of Antaeus, whose mother Gaea, the Romanian land will never permit the waves, the winds to take him away.... In preserving my romantic nature I also kept my firm belief in justice.

[Question] After so many professional successes, we believe that there will be more even in the literary field. We stand by you and believe that we are not the only ones who support you.

[Answer] Thank you, you have good insight. There are other pure souls and reliable friends who support me in my activity. But my best incentive is the climate of my family, of my three children whom I raised to the best of my ability, of my wife devoted to patient care, and of her participation, hour by hour, in my successes and especially in my insuccesses.

11710
CSO: 2700

RABBI RECALLS POGROMS, ANTI-SEMITISM OF FASCIST ERA

[Editorial Report] The 1-15 January 1981 issue of REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIK in Romanian, the Bucharest Jewish publication, on pages 1 and 10 reports on a ceremony held at Temple Coral in Bucharest commemorating the 130 Jews who died in the Iron Guard-fascist pogrom in Bucharest of 21-23 January 1941. The following is an excerpt from the sermon of Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen on the occasion:

"Integrated into the culture of this country, working with diligence and intelligence, for many centuries, Romanian Jews have always allied themselves with the Romanian toiling masses, who were similarly afflicted and exploited. Jewish soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with and shed their blood along with their Romanian comrades in the wars for the independence, sovereignty and integrity of their common fatherland. The progressive Romanian militants always had their Jewish comrades alongside them, in jails and in camps and as they faced the execution squads. Jewish writers and scientists, artists and leaders of the press, workers and craftsmen joined the general effort and placed their talents and their zeal alongside those of their Romanian colleagues for the improvement of this country in all its fields of activity, both intellectual and material.

"The names are too numerous to list, and they are so well known that we do not need to mention them. They are the names of those sons of Romanian Jewry which have been inscribed with honor in the book of progress, from slavery to liberty, from subjugation to independence, from poverty to the well being of this country.

'In order to plunder the people and to enslave them, the ancient pharaoh resorted, first of all, to anti-Semitic subversion. The initiative for the hatred came from the monarch and not the people who were oppressed and reduced to slavery themselves. Did the brothers and descendants of Joseph contribute to the welfare of the country? These merits had to be forgotten.

"Slyly, resorting to lies and slanders, alternating the nurturing of envy with that of scorn, using all the perfidious weapons in the arsenal of savage instincts, pharaoh and his acolytes prepared slavery and death.

"This is the way that they prepared the pogrom, by insults in the press, by slanders--the Jews are 'swindlers', the Jews are 'Judases', the Jews are 'tirtans' [a plant], the Jews are 'locusts', 'leeches'; pull their beards, cut their forelocks. PORUNCA VREMII, of sad memory, and SPARMA PIATRA and other organs of the press sowed the poison of hatred and scorn and gave impetus to the pogrom.

"In this day of remembrance, it is fitting for us to point out with pride and satisfaction that the only voice which resounded at that time, with courage and strength, against anti-Semitism, against the pogroms and the deportations was the voice of the Romanian Communist Party. It was and it still is the voice of the Romanian conscience, the voice of the kindness and of the spirit of justice and humanity of the Romanian people.

"Consistent with its principles of noble humanism this party has struggled and has succeeded in liberating the country from the yoke of the enemy and in saving the lives of those of us who were sentenced to share the fate of the January 1941 martyrs. Thanks to the same principles of justice and equality, the wicked criminals received the appropriate sentence, racial, national and religious discrimination were abolished, and punishment for those who stir up racial hatred was established by law. The new order guarantees, by its doctrine, our rights to civil equality; it assures us of work in all fields of activity. The temples and synagogues, once defiled, receive material support, and none of us have any reason to be afraid or ashamed because we are Jews.

"Today, the Jews in Socialist Romania hold their heads high; they know that their dignity is guaranteed by the ethical principles and the laws which govern this country. They give the proper reply to any anti-Semitic remnants which dare to raise their heads.

"On the 40th anniversary of the massacre of January 1941, we kneel in piety before the holy names of the victims, before "the names of the sons of Israel" and of millions of holy people from all parts of Europe who were the prey of the fascist barbarism. Alongside the best sons of the Romanian people, alongside the tens of millions of heroes and martyrs from other nations, they have made it possible, by their sacrifice, to build a better, more just world, a world in which innocent blood is no longer shed, a world in which peace reigns in souls and there is harmony among peoples.

"Remember them well, along with the other fighters for human rights!"

CSO: 2700

OUTGOING YOUTH FEDERATION PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1566, 4 Jan 81
pp 18-19

[Interview with Vasil Tupurkovski, outgoing president of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia, by Zorana Suvakovic: "Youth Officials Who Are Professional Meeting-Goers"]

[Text] One of the rare ones without "tie and briefcase" at the program-and-election conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia, held 24 December this year at the Sava Center, was Vasil Tupurkovski, now its past president. Anyone who has had occasion to attend youth meetings knows that this is always the case. Never will you see this doctor of international law, the 29-year-old youth president, in a conventional suit as if tailored for meetings. But it is not just his dress that makes him unconventional. At the program-and-election conference, for example, he committed a deliberate breach of protocol. He directed his first greetings to those hardened fighters and revolutionaries who in the past have most frequently been concerned with young people and who have been its most frequent guests. Only thereafter did he offer a welcome to the others, some of whom held quite high positions.

Between Performance and Official Position

Vasil was requested to give an interview while the conference was still going on. He consented without a moment's hesitation. He did not ask for the questions in advance. The very instance the lights in the auditorium of the Sava Center were extinguished, a few minutes after President Vasil Tupurkovski had congratulated the new president Miodrag Vukovic, he came up and said:

"We can talk. Ask away!"

[Question] You have behind you a year in the role of "the first man of Yugoslav young people." What are your feelings as you leave that post? Are you sorry that the year has gone by, or are you breathing easier that you are no longer the "first man"?

[Answer] I am naturally sorry that a year of my life has gone by. I am not sorry that the year I have spent in that position is over. I am not sorry at all. I could have used the year, and it is not 1 year, but more like 2 since I worked at my chosen profession. I think there have been many things which were worthwhile to me in that year, but much of it was a waste.

[Question] What has that position meant to you, are you closer now to young people or further away?

[Answer] I am getting further and further away from it in age. Obviously one is an adult by the time he reaches that kind of position. And the position does not bring a young man closer to young people because our youth organization does not know how to communicate with young people, nor has it learned. In that sense I am now further away, or so it seems to me.

[Question] How did you come to be elected?

[Answer] How? I did not want to be president and I asked to be left at my job at the School of Law in Skoplje. But that is the way our personnel procedure works. If the republic has to have its man and its delegate, then that man is found somewhere in the republic, and that is what happened to me. I had ceased to be active in the youth organization in 1974, and I became president of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia in 1979. Perhaps that distance is necessary to get the youth organization in perspective, and that is why they chose me for president. It would have been difficult for our rank and file to have anything to say about it.

[Question] Does that represent success in a young man's life?

[Answer] I must say that it is a kind of recognition. Yet I think that a young man's greatest success is building his position on results he has achieved himself or with the help of certain others around him, rather than on the basis of some status which society has accorded him. This cannot be seen as personal success.

[Question] What will you do now, are you going on to some higher official position?

[Answer] As the end of my term of office approached, I was automatically asked what I would like to do, and certain other positions were offered me. However, I never gave up my job in Skoplje even during the last 2 years which I spent in the office of president, and now I am taking it up again. I have to work at that job; that is what I have said to everyone, and that is what I told myself, which is most important.

[Question] What do young people see as higher and lower positions?

[Answer] We have destroyed the young man's working mentality. Thus it somehow turns out that working is a lower position, a higher position is living off unproductive work, getting on in society.

[Question] How do you view the "professional officeholder"?

[Answer] I think we are wrong to have irreplaceable officeholders. This defeats that mass participation which is an authentic strength of our society both with young people and other age groups as well. It is difficult to communicate and debate with such people, and especially difficult to offer them new solutions.

[Question] Does it seem to you that quite a few young people are choosing that kind of career?

[Answer] Unfortunately quite a few young people stay in these perpetual offices. The number is not huge, but it is a fact that it is growing. And that is a bad thing. I think what we have to have is a young working class, as I would refer to it, growing up, but we fool around with various justifications so that our work is seen to be productive when it isn't, and we treat officeholding as though it were a commitment to work which could be justified in the eyes of that working class.

"Career" Habits

[Question] How do you evaluate work in the form of which you have been a member?

[Answer] We all worked a great deal, I think our work was ineffective, though we did work a great deal in terms of hours. There was a lot of insistence on career and on a future not related to what we did previously.

[Question] What has professionalism brought to political work, and do we need that kind of political work?

[Answer] I am convinced that professionalism gives rise to careerism. Whenever one has acquired certain habits, he wants to turn them into his "career" habits, especially if they afford him a chance to live better. Accordingly, in the situation we are interested in, and that is a situation in which everyone has his influence and everyone can exert an influence through his own work, thereby building his own position, specifically by working, I think that professionalism and careerism are catastrophic. They close off such opportunities for self-expression of ordinary people, for self-expression of young people, and in that way they negate what is basic to this society.

[Question] What are the significant features of the present for Yugoslav young people?

[Answer] As for young people, I am convinced that they are ready to go down the road which they supported in a plebiscite after listening to Comrade Tito and believing him. But as for the youth organization, I think that this is a significant moment, since it is demonstrating its inability to take advantage of these attributes of the young generation and this kind of healthy position of the young generation in society, its inability to transform itself into one of the most significant participants in all the processes in society.

[Question] Do you share the opinion that there are two sets of young people, one in the forums and the other outside them?

[Answer] I would more or less agree because the "young people in forums" do not know the problems of young people, and at age 29 I was unable to know the problems of young people at the age of 14 or 18, and I certainly couldn't come to know them as a member of a forum.

[Question] It has been rather a long time now since university students have had their own organization and that they have been embraced by the overall youth organization. Does this merger seem a successful one from the practical standpoint?

[Answer] It is very important for us to have a unified youth organization, and the principles on which it is built or on which it should be built are altogether correct. However, from the practical standpoint we have not succeeded in including university students in this broad front of young people. We do not have the university students. But there is not any kind of sectarianism involved here at all neither on the part of young people toward university students nor on the part of university students toward other young people, but rather it is again mainly a question of the youth organization and the inadequacy of its concern for the vital problems of university students. We are not concerned with the reform, we are not concerned with the socioeconomic problems of university students, and consequently we cannot count on being attractive to university students.

[Question] One of your favorite expressions has been democracy and democratic spirit in relations. What do you mean by this?

[Answer] First of all, when it comes to the organization, I think that we lack democracy in decisionmaking. This is very simple to explain. Since our delegate relations are not operative, we make decisions in forums. Here at the level of the Presidium we make the decisions, and we are acting as representatives of the young generation, but they have not given us a mandate, at least not in that way. We would have their mandate if initiatives originated with the rank and file or basic organizations, and we inform that rank and file about how we were carrying out its initiatives. By democratic spirit in society at large I mean a man's right to base his status on his work. If he is not given an opportunity to fight for his place in society through his work, then democracy is not being honored, and a man is thus being deprived of his basic right.

A Part of Public Opinion

[Question] Do you think that young people have enough opportunities to express their opinion about the world which surrounds them or to disagree with some part of everyday life?

[Answer] Young people do not have that opportunity. They are free to speak as individuals, there are no problems at all in that. But those attitudes toward the problems around them, in the world, in broader terms, can become a part of public opinion only when that position is arrived at in an organized way. The opportunities opened to him are the sociopolitical organizations, and that means the Socialist Youth Federation, but unfortunately there is not a single issue on which we can arrive at a national position of Yugoslav young people in which those young people would recognize themselves and would recognize their own view of the world.

[Question] It has been said that your speeches are brief and compressed. Do you bring yourself up short, or at times has someone else shortened your speeches?

[Answer] To be frank, it is hard for me to write those speeches on political topics. I am not versed in it, and I put my thoughts on paper, and then afterwards I see if I can't change that terminology, which incidentally is not political, and nevertheless impart to it a moderation that would make it acceptable both to our forum and to other forums. So, no one else has actually cut me short, but I think that a part of our practice in this political process has influenced me to shorten my own speeches.

As soon as he heard that this was the last question, Dr Vasil Tupurkovski put on his coat and hurriedly went outside. He was traveling that same evening to Skoplje. No official car awaited him at the entrance of the Sava Center used by arriving and departing notables, but it seems that that was just the way Dr Vasil Tupurkovski liked it.

7045

CSO: 2800

SUVAR DISCUSSES NATIONALITY QUESTION IN CROATIA

Zagreb NASE TIME in Serbo-Croatian No 11, Nov 80 pp 1851-1857

[Article* by Stipe Suvar: "There Is Never Enough Equality"]

[Text] The topic of our discussion is achievement of equality in relations among the nationalities and ethnic minorities in Croatia. But it seems to me that this is not the complete title, since here we are discussing the cultural sphere only in the broad sense. There is an economic and political dimension of equality which we are not talking about at this joint meeting, but which are equally interesting and delicate. There is something else I would like to observe: if for no other reason, at least on methodological grounds we ought to clearly distinguish between relations among the nationalities and relations of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. This is not the same thing. While it is altogether justified to fight for our ethnic minorities to have their own cultural, educational and related independent institutions, it is not justified, and I regard this as a politically erroneous orientation, to set up separate cultural, scientific and similar institutions in the case of our nationalities who live interspersed in our various republics: for example, to set up separate Serbian institutions in Croatia or separate Croat institutions, for this to be done anywhere in Yugoslavia. If the Croats and Serbs spoke different languages, then perhaps this might be to some extent understandable, but it is not just a question of languages. I was not able to understand certain comrades who have spoken here, and the same thing is contained in the material prepared for this meeting, to the effect that the Moslems, for example, should exercise their rights as a nation in Croatia. I have looked at the 1971 Population Census. At that time there were 18,457 Moslems in Croatia who had so declared themselves as to their ethnic background. They

* Stipe Suvar's speech delivered at the expanded meeting of the Section of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia for Culture and Art, its Section for Upbringing, Education and Science and its Committee for Relations Among the Nationalities, which debated the topic "Achievement of Equality in Relations Among the Nationalities in Croatia," held in Zagreb on 2 October 1980, in the author's authorized version.

are scattered all over Croatia, and we know that there are somewhat more of them in certain cities, for example, in Dubrovnik, Zagreb, certain towns in Slavonia, and so on. But what does it mean that they must organize themselves as a separate nation? I wish someone would explain that to me. The language is the same, the culture is the same, surely it is not the present intention to set up some sort of Moslem clubs, societies and the like. That is why I really do not understand such proposals. What is more, I think that they are unclear and confusing. It is another matter that we should make it possible for the Albanians, Macedonians and Slovenes, when they exist in a sizable number in some area of Croatia, to teach their children in their own language and in this sense nurture their own culture in their mother tongue. But even that is not any great problem now in Croatia. After all, even the members of those nations are very scattered over the area of Croatia, and there are not many of them. The data of the 1971 Census are out of date, but we can still use them as a rough approximation: in that year there were 5,625 Macedonians in our republic, 4,175 Albanians and 32,497 Slovenes. Support should be given to their organization for the purpose of nurturing their language and cultural peculiarities, but we must still be aware of a realistic dimension, a realistic magnitude. It would be an illusion to say that we now need to create and organize something separate for 100 members of some nationality or minority in Croatia.

Why do I mention this? I think that we should never examine things abstractly, without examining actual magnitudes and concrete reality. When people are scattered, if there is one Albanian or Macedonian for every 20 square kilometers, then they cannot be organized into anything in the sense of preservation of their language and cultural peculiarities.

But to go back again to certain demands contained in the material that was distributed: I think the proposal that the Socialist Alliance become the founder of the Prosvjeta Publishing Enterprise and the publishing house Matica Hrvatska is wrong. If it is to become the founder of these publishing organizations, then let it also become the founder of all the 49 other publishing organizations in Croatia. There is no particular reason why the SAWP of Croatia should be the founder of these two publishing enterprises in particular.

It is said that the Prosvjeta Publishing Enterprise will be specialized in Serbian history, literature and so on. We all know the history of Prosvjeta as a cultural society. Our National Liberation Struggle created both the Club of Serbian Delegates to the Regional Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia, and then of Serbian deputies in the Parliament, as well as Prosvjeta. This was the concrete historical need of that moment. The Serbs in Croatia had an honorable role in our National Liberation Struggle, and if someone wants to count heads, as some of our nationalists have undertaken to do, then it truly remains an indisputable fact that because of a set of specific historical conditions they participated in a higher proportion in our armed revolution and the National Liberation Struggle.

We know all that, and that cannot be evaded as a fact. But to insist today on some political and cultural separation of the Serbs in Croatia is not only nonsensical, but is also profoundly harmful both to them and to us Croats and all of us in Yugoslavia. After all, logic then leads to creating such societies of Croats in Vojvodina, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and if you like even of Croats in Kosovo, since statistically there are 7,000 of them even there, or in Montenegro. But in all our republics, if, of course, we exclude the "native" nationality or minority, the Serbs make up the largest group, precisely because they are numerically the largest nationality in Yugoslavia and historically have been dispersed. Then come the Croats and so on. And to start up certain tendencies at this point and in this place signifies a failure to think about the consequences for Yugoslavia as a whole.

What is it that divides us so that we need at this point to create separate cultural institutions or possibly to revive them, assuming that they were indeed necessary at some other sociohistorical moment?

For me this is unacceptable. Our concern must be for the Serbs in Croatia to have political equality, which I think they do, and in public sociopolitical and economic life not to categorize people as individuals on the basis of whether they are Serbs or Croats or members of other nationalities and minorities, but to identify them with respect to professional and human abilities, work skills, and other capacities. I am not concerned about whether an engineer or physician is a Croat or Serb, but about how competent he is and the position he will take as an engineer, as a doctor, in precisely that capacity. But in political bodies, in delegate assemblies, in leadership forms of sociopolitical organizations we must take the ethnic composition into account. And I think we do. We are not altogether satisfied with all the elements, there is a bit of meandering and inertia here, there is both sectarianism and stupidity, especially in some communes, in some places to the disadvantage of the Croats, in others to the disadvantage of the Serbs, but it is up to the organized socialist forces to correct the sediment of the past as well as today's errors and oversights in their specific policy. And in some places there may even be disguised nationalism on both sides, and indeed there is, and so on. We all know this.

The thing we should fight against is the Serbs in Croatia being passed over in silence as though they did not exist as a nationality and did not have their joint history with the Croats, against their being referred to in textbooks as virtual "newcomers," of which there are still traces; against adoption of that psychology and mentality of the feudal Croatian Parliament from the centuries when the main bodies of Serbs settled here and when they were referred to as Vlachs. Even today they are referred to in certain textbooks as "newcomers."

They have a common history, they have a common language, they have a common culture, in spite of all the specific features. The Serbs in Croatia have their own cultural monuments, their own cultural traditions, and they must not be passed over in silence.

And if there are elements for our concern, I think this is the area of the spoken and written languages. I say that intolerance in the language area in the name of Croatian linguistic nationalism has gained strength in Croatia, especially over the last decade, and this has hurt the Serbs to the quick, but not only the Serbs, but, I am deeply persuaded, a majority of Croats as well, especially those who are progressively committed. This "purge" on the basis of language, this intolerance toward another way of speaking, toward certain words which are a part of tradition, toward a different orthography, has become widespread. Here again certain things are not what they should be. And then the question of alphabet. I want to see more people learning Cyrillic in Croatia and having a better knowledge of it, but not because of the Serbs, but both because of the Serbs and Croats, since these are our two alphabets that we have in common. And I know that new generations in Croatia, even generations of university students and 20-year-olds, sometimes throw aside newspapers or books when they are printed in Cyrillic, with the justification: I find that hard to read. This is a fact that should be taken into account, and we should see that they do not have any difficulty reading Cyrillic. This is equally necessary to Croats and to Serbs, to all literate and cultured people. When you get right down to it, in ancient times Cyrillic was the alphabet of the Croats. If in no other way, then through the Bosnian dialect using the Cyrillic script, and so on.

Let us understand these things and put them in their proper place in the educational system and elsewhere. Here, too, we must be careful, we must study and plan everything and correct certain things.

As for the study of history and culture, I feel that it is the duty of every cultural and scientific institution to do its job conscientiously. If it is doing its job, then the Yugoslav Academy and the Center of Historical Sciences and the Institute for the History of the Working Class Movement will be concerned with both Serbian and Croatian history, and all are concerned with what we have in common.

That is why I am suspicious about the demand that in history departments or in certain historical studies, for example, we should specifically find and train specialists in the history of the Serbs in Croatia. It is another matter when Serbian history is being taught as a subject at the university, and that also applies to Serbian literature; then we do need a specialist--no matter whether he is a Croat, a Slovene or a Serb. He is a specialist in that field. But all those scientific and cultural institutions of ours should work together in their regular program on everything that we have in common and that does not divide us into Serbs and Croats in those periods and in those areas where our history and our present are shared.

In this respect we have the honorable and honest tradition of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts and other cultural institutions. In the case of Matica Hrvatska we do not have such an honorable tradition. It was transformed from a cultural institution into an organization of political

opposition, and we had to remove it from the scene, which is why we are being so fiercely accused at the present time. So, the entire history and culture and alphabet and spoken language of the Serbs in Croatia is something which we Croats also have in common with them, and here we must carefully see how matters stand and carefully and subtly plan both in the field of education and in the field of culture and elsewhere those things which must be fostered, those things which must be corrected, those things which must be done away with if they are not good, those things which must be promoted, but, I repeat, not by drawing a line of separation, not by creating a ghetto, not by any sort of corpus separatum, not by any sort of separation and division.

There is something else I want to say: we cannot discuss this topic outside the context of relations among the nationalities throughout Yugoslavia. After all, the way the Serbs will feel in Croatia and indeed the way the Croats will feel in Croatia depends on how we shall all feel in Yugoslavia. This applies both to all the Serbs and all the Croats in their relations with one another and also to the Macedonians and Slovenes and the ethnic minorities. Some things are not what they should be in the relations among our nationalities: between Serbia and Croatia and other republics and other ethnic communities; there are things we have not cleared up, have not reevaluated, have not put in their proper places, and unfortunately instruction and education have been excessively "Croatianized" in Croatia, "Serbianized" in Serbia, and so on. In this area we must fight a battle both for literature syllabi and for linguistic tolerance and for history syllabi and for everything that binds us together, all the way to the exchange of books and publications.

I know that the situation is such that if a worthwhile book comes out in Cyrillic in Serbia, it will sell at best 50 copies on the Croatian literary market unless the book has made some sort of sensation. So, we are dealing here with the problems of closed markets in the field of culture, cultural communications and information. These are broader problems. Thus we cannot discuss this topic in terms confined exclusively to Croatia; we must always discuss relations among the nationalities in Yugoslavia as a whole.

The situation with respect to the ethnic minorities is different insofar as these are small groups which have their own language and their own culture and which we must provide maximum protection so that they are not assimilated and do not disappear.

This is also in our own interest, not just in theirs. The Italians are the best organized, but that is the result of history and of the strength that binds them to a strong national culture. They are in fact an indigenous element in Istria and elsewhere that was already there. While the Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians came there as peasants and serfs. They have had a different position in remote and more recent history. Objectively, though they are equal, the latter are less resistant to assimilation and so on. Consequently, due respect should be paid to all the factors. At the level of

the republic all our laws, decisions and proclamations are the right ones, but in enforcement we fall down in some respects. And if I have criticism of the material prepared for this meeting, then those critical remarks pertain to what is based on visits to 18 institutions in Zagreb and to the description of things in their work which do not fall in this area. Nor was there any consultation whatsoever of our ethnic minorities, of their alliances or of their cultural, educational and other institutions. Why was there no effort to go among them and to listen closely to what they have to say?

I will be frank: in the field, in local communities there is chauvinism on the part of the majority toward our ethnic minorities. We must accordingly be extremely militant and categorical. All the way from the problem of bilingualism to the fact that however little stinginess is shown by the republic, and our communities of opstinas are not stingy either, when there is a need to aid culture, education and other things in the languages of the minorities, it is somewhere in the practical application that the short circuits come about.

In the ranks of the ethnic minorities there are also certain maximalistic demands by people who are enraged. To some extent one can understand this as a matter of temperament, of a surviving minority mentality. But that is another matter.

I think that in every local community we must be most careful in resolving the problem of language and the problem of bilingualism and the problem of education, and we can and should do many of these things which we have not yet done.

I would propose, and I conclude with this, that this and similar meetings should not remain hanging in the air. That we should not always put so much emphasis on proclaiming matters of principle (we must proclaim positions of principle only where our line is not clear), but should undertake operative programs and assume commitments as to who should do what and what the deadline should be. And that it is the Socialist Alliance that should be the place where matters will be set up as they should be from the operational standpoint, that every institution should be given its part of the job and should work on it conscientiously in the interest of nurturing the greatest equality of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. After all, there is never enough of that equality.

7045

CS0: 2800

NATIVITY SCENE IN CATHOLIC CHURCH TERMED 'PROVOCATION'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Z. Tarle: "Strange Messages From Saint Domenic's"]

[Text] It is a Christmas custom in Catholic churches to represent the Prophet's birth in a tableau: Bethlehem is improvised--the stable, the manger, the shepherds, a bit of hay, some little sheep and the worried "blessed" parents.... Of course this old Catholic custom should be respected just like any other custom. After all, this is the most evident way of respecting the religious sentiments of people who believe.

Yet belief is not "one-dimensional." It need not, that is, be religious. This is a matter of a man's own convictions. So if we respect religious convictions and sentiments, why should other views of the world, atheistic views, say, not be given the same "treatment"? The tolerance we are advocating presupposes a man's right to believe in the Biblical interpretation of the world and life or not to believe, but also his obligation not to impose his religious (or unreligious) view of the world on other people.

These matters are all quite clear, just as are the positions this society has taken in that respect. Yet we have been witnesses of religious provocations, at times ephemeral and insignificant, at other times flagrant. Most provocations are simply left without a response, or solutions are found through the dialog between the church and "state."

The Christmas messages of the imaginary Bethlehem in Saint Domenic's Church in Split go beyond the importance of the usual ephemeral provocation. This was a serious "ideological deployment of forces," of unambiguous slogans and quotations out of context from the Holy Writ which in this context have considerably weightier importance than the usual Christmas sayings.

This is evidenced in the scene which we saw at Saint Domenic's. Over the improvised manger and stable, where Jesus of Nazareth is being born in the pangs of labor, has been "placed" a modern city whose high-rise buildings are enclosed by barbed wire. Why was barbed wire used to give the impression of a concentration camp? In the middle of this modern city the

dominant value is given to a large cross. Its function is ambiguous. Is it connecting parts of the city which cannot be joined or is it separating them? To the left of the cross there is a red star on one high-rise building, on another the sickle and hammer. To the right of the cross there are another two high-rise buildings with two crosses, beside one of which is written "This is arousing the people to rebellion." Which people is it arousing? Why are the red star and the hammer and sickle put on the left side? According to one religious interpretation, the left side (even in man himself) is the side of the past, and the right side that to which the future belongs. According to another interpretation, two other men were crucified along with Jesus: one, an honest and repentant Christian, to Christ's right, and the other, a thief and bandit, on the Prophet's left. If one takes these two interpretations as well-founded, the messages are obvious and eloquent....

We notice that alongside the large cross that stands between the two apartment complexes there is a banner bearing the slogan or quotation--"We have a law, and under the law he must die"! Who has such a law? Some country long ago or this country in which Christmas is being celebrated today? Perhaps the slogan "Were he born even today...." is also ambiguous? Oh, would he again be crucified? Who would crucify him?

Individuals acted on their own in calling our attention to this scene in Saint Domenic's, a scene which was left up 3 weeks after Christmas, which is not the usual custom.

Without claiming in referring to this case that we have issued a critical judgment concerning the practical activity of the Catholic Church in Dalmatia, we would nevertheless like to ask the question: In whose interest is this provocation? Are such "scenes" in the spirit of the religious tolerance advocated by both the church and the "state"?

7045

CSO: 2800

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

9 March 1981

